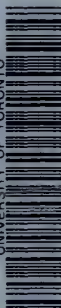


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Frontispiece.

Tomb No. 2.

El Bersheh.



M. H. Blackden

McGregor, Chomus-ith

PORTRAIT OF A DAUGHTER OF TEHUTHIETEP.

haerl

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. L. GRIFFITH, B.A., F.S.A.

EL BERSHEH

PART I.

(THE TOMB OF TEHUTI-HETEP)

BY

PERCY E. NEWBERRY

WITH PLAN AND MEASUREMENTS OF THE TOMB

BY

G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER, F.S.A.

WITH THIRTY-FOUR PLATES

SPECIAL PUBLICATION OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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PREFACE.

THE Survey of the Middle Kingdom tombs in the Gebel el Bersheh was made during the winter 1891-2. The party, consisting of Messrs. P. E. Newberry, G. W. Fraser, and Howard Carter, arrived at El Bersheh on the 24th November, 1891, and in the middle of December was joined by Mr. M. W. Blackden, who kindly volunteered his services in order to make coloured copies of the wall-paintings in the tombs, and gave much assistance in superintending the clearance of the *débris*, &c., which had accumulated in them. The work of tracing in outline the wall-paintings and inscriptions was finished on the 2nd January, 1892, when Mr. Newberry returned to England. Mr. Carter also left to join Prof. Petrie in his work at Tell el Amarna.

The Survey of the hill and tombs was completed by Messrs. Fraser and Blackden in February, 1892. In May, 1893, Mr. Howard Carter again went to El Bersheh, and stayed there till the end of June, making water-colour drawings of the most interesting scenes and of hieroglyphic signs in the tomb of Tehutihetep, and completing the tracings.

In all, there are ten inscribed tombs of the Middle Kingdom at El Bersheh. Of these, the tomb of Tehutihetep (the second from the north-west), published in the present volume, is by far the finest and most interesting. The remaining nine inscribed tombs and a Survey of the Gebel el Bersheh, together with the general account of the group, will be published in *El Bersheh*, Part II.

The plan, elevation, and sections, and the details of the doorways and columns, are published from drawings made on the spot by Mr. G. W. Fraser.

The coloured frontispiece is from an excellent *fac-simile* made by Mr. Blackden. The plates are the work of Mr. Carter and Mr. Newberry. Those numbered v., vi., xiv., xvi., xxiv., xxvii.-xxxi., are wholly or in part the work of Mr. Newberry, all the remaining plates are by Mr. Carter. Mr. Newberry is also, of course, responsible for the copies of inscriptions.

The letter-press, as in the second volume of *Beni Hasan*, is the joint production of Mr. Griffith and Mr. Newberry.

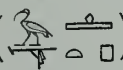

EL BERSHEH.

PART I.

THE TOMB OF  TEHUTIHETEP,  "GREAT CHIEF OF THE HARE NOME."





I. INTRODUCTION.

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB OF TEHUTI-HETEP.

LIKE most of the magnates who were buried around him, Tehutihetep¹ () the noble occupant of the second tomb, was prince of the nome of Hermopolis. His capital was the ancient  Khemenu, now marked by the mounds of Eshmûnên,² and it is probable that there was his residence. The city lay in the middle of the valley, and at some distance from the west bank of the Nile; the nearest point of the hills is about five miles due east, near the site of the Roman city of Antinoë, but for some reason the princes of the Middle

Kingdom, in choosing a site for their necropolis, went further south, and selected the north side of a rocky valley in the hills behind the modern Dêr en Nakhleh, "the convent of the date-palm." The group of tombs is known to Egyptologists by the name of El Bersheh, the hills being called Gebel el Bersheh by the natives; El Bersheh is also the name of a village and of a *dér*, or monastery, near by. That part of the Gebel or hill of El Bersheh in which the tombs of the Middle Kingdom nomarchs are situated is about five miles south of Antinoë, and seven miles from Eshmûnên in a direct line across the Nile.

The tomb of Tehutihetep is the most conspicuous of all that exist at El Bersheh, and was probably the finest tomb ever excavated there. Unfortunately, it has been much shattered by an earthquake, which apparently took place many centuries ago, causing the limestone strata to slip irregularly one over another along their south-west dip, so that the roof of the tomb has been projected forward about a foot, and the ceiling of the outer chamber has entirely collapsed, bringing

¹ In the Early and Middle Kingdoms the name of Thoth was written  Zehuti, the  z changing first to  d, and then to  t in the course of time. Tehuti being more familiar than Zehuti, we think it will be convenient to use the later form Tehutihetep in the place of Zehutihetep, although the latter would be more strictly consistent with our system of transliteration.

² See map of the neighbourhood of El Bersheh, *El Bersheh*, Part II., fig. 1.

down with it the architrave and columns of the portico. To reach the tomb from the river it is best to land opposite Râramûn and walk across the cultivated land, through the Coptic village of Dêr en Nakhleh, to the edge of the desert. A Coptic cemetery lies at the foot of the hills. Up the slope, due east of Dêr en Nakhleh, can be discerned a road or *dromos*, marked out on either side by large boulders. It ascends the hill to the summit, and near the top passes the terrace, on to which all the larger tombs of the Middle Kingdom open.

The tomb described in the present volume is the second inscribed one on the south side of the great roadway, and is marked No. 2 on the Survey to be published in *El Bersheh*, Part II., Pl. 3. It consists of a portico, a main chamber, and a shrine, and like all the other tombs in the group it is excavated in the hill-side.

The façade, before its collapse, must have presented an imposing architectural front. It consisted of two noble columns with palm-leaf capitals supporting a massive architrave, all coloured pink and marbled with pale-green to represent rose-granite; at the sides were seen the names of the kings under whom Tehutihetep, the owner of the tomb, had served. The space behind the columns was so large that we have called it an outer chamber. The walls were sculptured with scenes of hunting large game with nets, of fowling with the throw-stick, and of fishing with spear or harpoon. The left-hand wall (now wholly destroyed) was probably devoted to military and wrestling scenes, such as we see so often in the tombs of the same period at Beni Hasan. The ceiling was painted blue and studded with yellow quatrefoils; the design evidently represents a starred canopy supported by a transverse rafter, the latter being also imitated in the painting.

A narrow doorway, the jambs of which were inscribed, led from this chamber into



another rectangular hall—the main or inner chamber—measuring about twenty-five feet from front to back, by twenty feet in breadth, and thirteen feet six inches in height. The walls of this chamber were also covered with sculpture and painting above a plain black dado. On the front wall at either side of the door we have curious scenes of purification. On the upper part of the left-hand wall is the celebrated painting of the “Colossus on a sledge,” a huge alabaster statue of Tehutihetep being dragged by nearly two hundred men; on the lower part of the same wall are scenes of boats on the Nile, and cattle, the whole referring to a great stock-taking, to which the herdsmen of the nome brought in their annual tribute of cattle. On the inner wall we see Tehutihetep netting wild fowl with his wife and son, watching fishermen hauling a net to shore, and receiving birds, fish, &c., from his estate. The greater part of the right-hand wall fell with the earthquake, and was smashed into fragments; from the portion still in place and the fragments recovered from the *débris*, we gather that the scenes depicted the owner's household and the occupations of his farm servants, gardeners, &c. The ceiling of this chamber is decorated like that of the portico, but with the supporting beam represented as placed longitudinally, and in the centre is a rectangular space of a different pattern, crossed by the beam and bordered by a black line. This space is filled with a black and yellow check pattern.

At the inner end three low steps lead into a small shrine about four feet broad by eight feet deep and eight feet high. It is remarkable that it contained no statues like those at Beni Hasan and elsewhere. On each of the side walls is painted a scene of offerings, surmounted by the *kheker* ornament. Instead of statues there are two figures in low relief on the inner wall, of equal height, and facing one another, representing Tehutihetep and his

father Kay.¹ Tehutihetep generally calls himself "son of Kay" in his inscriptions, but none of the scenes in the larger chambers of the tomb refer to Kay.

The age of the tomb is clearly indicated by the cartouches engraved on the outer corners of the façade, according to which Tehutihetep lived in the reigns of Amenemhat II., Usertsen II., and Usertsen III., so that it was probably in the long reign of the last-named king that this tomb was completed and the nomarch died.

It is interesting to find amongst the sculptures the names of the principal workmen employed upon the excavation and adornment of this masterpiece of Middle Kingdom workmanship.

The "director of the work" was  "Ab-Kau's son Sep," and the artist employed to decorate it  "Amena-ankhu." These men's handiwork was well worthy to carry down their fame to posterity.

2. PREVIOUS WORK AT THE TOMB.

THE group of tombs at El Bersheh was quite unknown to the members of the great French expedition under Napoleon, as well as to their predecessors. Its discovery, however, dates back to 1817, and we owe the first account of it to two naval officers, Captain Mangles and Lieutenant Irby.² These two travellers, after a voyage up the Nile to the first cataract, joined an expedition consisting of Messrs. Bankes, Beechey, and Belzoni, who were about to proceed into Nubia in order to effect an entrance through the sand-drifts into the great temple at Abu Simbel. At that date travellers in Nubia were beset with many

difficulties, owing to the mutual jealousies of the local governors and the disorganized state of the country. Labourers could hardly be obtained, and it was chiefly by their own exertions that these travellers, half-starved as they were by the refusal of the people to supply them with food, at length excavated the doorway of the great temple; and for the first time for many centuries man set foot within its brilliantly decorated halls. Those who had hoped to find portable treasures within were doubtless disappointed, but our travellers sought adventure and discovery. On their homeward voyage they broke their journey at several points where they heard of the existence of important remains. At El Kab they admired the tomb of Paheri.³ On the 26th of August, 1817, they reached Râramûn, and guided presumably by Mr. Brine, the English founder of the sugar factory there, they discovered the tomb of Tehutihetep, and were much struck by the interesting character of its paintings.⁴ Messrs. Bankes and Beechey revisited it at an early opportunity and made drawings, which probably exist to this day, but have not yet been traced to their present owners. A copy of Mr. Bankes' outline of the colossus has, however, been seen by us amongst

³ Published in the XIth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

⁴ "Before we leave Egypt I should inform you that we discovered an interesting tomb opposite Mr. Brine's, at Radimore [Râramûn]. The sides were covered with paintings, among which are two groups, of a description very rarely, if ever, to be met with; one of them represents the removal of a colossus between thirty and forty feet high, and seated on a chair; upwards of a hundred labourers are employed. The other drawing represents an Egyptian garden, with exotics in flower-pots, arranged on a terrace, near which is an arbour, bee-hives, &c. Mr. Bankes and Mr. Beechey are the only travellers who have visited this tomb since we discovered it: the former has accurate drawings of all its contents."—Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, London, 1821, p. 165. The reference to bee-hives is due to some misconception, as there is no sign of such amongst the paintings here or in any other tomb at present known in Egypt.

¹ Pronounced Ka-y.

² *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor during the years 1817-1818*, by the Hon. C. L. Irby and S. Mangles, London, 1823.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson's papers.¹ From this it would appear that not much attention was paid to detail, so that the drawings would not be of much importance for scenes of which other records exist.

Many of the great groups of tombs in Egypt are situated in conspicuous places. That of El Bersheh is not so easy to find; hence it is seldom mentioned in books of travel and antiquarian research. Neither Caillaud, nor Wilkinson in his early publications, nor Burton, nor Champollion, has left any independent record of it. Rosellini, however, the head of the Tuscan expedition and a companion of Champollion in most of his journey, published the scene of the colossus on a sledge in 1832,² from a drawing by Dr. Ricci, one of his colleagues; but it is certain that Champollion never saw it.

In 1833 Bonomi and Arundale were sent by Robert Hay of Linplum, then living in Egypt, to make a plan and drawings of the tomb of the colossus, and the following unpublished letter from Bonomi to Hay, referring to this visit, is preserved amongst the Hay manuscripts in the British Museum.³

"RARAMOUN, July 28th, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"We arrived here on the morning of the 26th, and after visiting Sig. Antonini,⁴ went in search of the tomb, which we easily found, but in a very different state to what it was when I saw it before,⁵ holes having been picked in the walls, and a considerable part of the rest nearly obliterated by the rain getting in; however, by dint of scraping and sponging we have succeeded in

getting the principal part of the subject of greatest interest. . . . Mr. Arundale has made a plan and sections, in which will be seen the situation of the subjects.

"Yours, etc.,

"J. BONOMI."

The drawings mentioned in this letter are still preserved.⁶ They comprise a plan and a longitudinal section of the tomb by Arundale,⁷ the latter showing the disposition of the scenes; pencil drawings to a very small scale of the inner walls of both the inner and outer chambers;⁸ a copy of the inscription behind the colossus scene;⁹ the colossus itself, partly in colour;¹⁰ and the doorway of the building towards which the statue was being dragged.¹¹

Five years later, in December, 1838, Nestor de l'Hôte gave, in one of his letters,¹² a brief description of the tomb, and probably copied several of the scenes, but unfortunately the greater part of his drawings and squeezes were lost at sea. In 1841, however, he again visited Egypt and the tombs at El Bersheh. He then made a number of useful notes upon this tomb, which are preserved among his manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹³

⁶ *Add. MS.* 29,814. ⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 3 and 4; our pl. ii.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 5; our pls. viii., ix., and xx.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 7; our pl. xiv. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 8; our pl. xv.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 6; our pl. xvi.

¹² *Lettres écrites de l'Égypte*, p. 46-50. On p. 47 is an extract from the inscription with titles of Tehutihetep from the thickness of the wall printed on p. 15 of our memoir, and the names of his sons, Usertsen-ankh and Nehera, from the since-destroyed upper left-hand corner, in our pl. x.; and on p. 48 Tehutihetep fowling with the throw-stick, accompanied by his three sons (our pl. viii.). The legends accompanying the sons in this scene have also recently been cut away, no doubt in order to obtain the cartouche.

¹³ *Papiers de Nestor de l'Hôte*, tomes iii. and xi. (copied by the editor in 1888).

Vol. iii., fols. 246-267, gives a brief but orderly description of the tomb, with slight extracts from the subjects. Fols. 246-7, the shrine, especially the inscriptions on the back wall (our pl. xxxiii.). In the succeeding folios are notes of the main chamber, including on fol. 250 the inscription on the ceiling (our pl. vi.). Fol. 248, the right-hand side of the inner wall (our pl. xx.). Fol. 249, inscriptions on the right-hand jamb of the portico (our

¹ Apparently a lithograph of this drawing was circulated by Mr. Bankes; it was utilised by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1837, p. 328, as well as in the later edition, and in the commentary to Rawlinson's translation of *Herodotus*.

² Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, Mon. Civili, tom. ii., tav. xlviii. 1; text, tom. ii., p. 246.

³ *Add. MS.* 29,859, fol. 30.

⁴ The successor of Mr. Brine, who is referred to above, p. 3.

⁵ Bonomi had lived in Egypt since 1824.

In 1837 Wilkinson published a drawing of the colossus on a sledge in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*,¹ the source of which was Mr. Bankes' lithograph. He had searched for the tomb, but had failed to find it,² and it was not until 1841 that he arrived at the spot. Some valuable sketches made on this occasion are preserved among his papers at Calke Abbey, Derbyshire, and copies of them were made last year for our use.³

The Prussian expedition under Lepsius visited the tomb in July, 1843,⁴ and several subjects were selected for copying, including, of course, the colossus on a sledge.⁵

pl. v.). Fol. 253, inscriptions on the doorway to the temple (our pl. xvi.). Fol. 254, the long inscription behind the colossus (our pl. xiv.), together with part of the large figure of Tehutihetep following, and the remains of the line of inscription containing his titles (see p. 17). Fol. 255, the scene of purification, with the inscriptions (our pl. x.). Fols. 264-267, description of the tomb, with notes of the inscriptions, including a slight sketch to show the restoration of the plan: strange to say, although he states that no trace remains of the columns, he recognizes that they must have existed: the inscription on the thickness of the wall (see p. 15), and the names of the sons from the scene of spearing fish (our pl. ix.), now partly destroyed, are also given.

Vol. xi., p. 25, scene of the colossus, with inscriptions.

¹ Vol. iii., p. 328; a second edition in 1847.

² *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 65.

³ These drawings of Wilkinson are bound up with other large ones, chiefly of a very early date, but with some later ones inserted, and the volume is labelled "Egyptian Sculpture." Between fols. 2 and 3 are a number of added leaves, the first (*a*) with the scene of dragging the colossus (coloured), and some of the inscriptions on the back. On the second leaf (*b*) is a coloured copy of the portion of the right-hand wall still standing, including the gardening scene, &c., in our pls. xxv.-xxvi., but without the top row. On the third leaf (*c*) are some fragments of inscriptions from the same tomb, and on the fourth (*d*) the inscriptions of the colossus scene (our pl. xv.).

⁴ Lepsius' Letters from Egypt, No. 15.

⁵ Published in the *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 134, 135. Bl. 134, drawn by E. Weidenbach. (*a*) Scene of the colossus on a sledge, without the short inscriptions, but with the long inscription behind it. (*b*) Tehutihetep seated in the *seh*, our pl. xix. (*c*) The inscriptions on the back wall of the shrine, our pl. xxxiii. (*d*) The large standing figure of Tehutihetep, in our pl. xx.; and (*e*) Another of the same

Since Sir Gardner Wilkinson's visit in 1850 hardly anything appears to have been done in the way of preserving the inscriptions.⁶

There is, however, one exception. Major Brown, of the Egyptian Irrigation Department, took a photograph of the scene of the colossus on a sledge in 1889. Of this one print was taken, which Major Brown kindly gave us, but the negative itself is lost.⁷

Then came the destroyer. The year after Major Brown took his photograph, the important inscription behind the colossus was cut away, and many other parts of the tomb were wantonly injured. Thus the scenes which decorated its walls for so many centuries, and withstood the shock of the earthquake, had just undergone the most grievous mutilation, when, in November 1891, our survey party reached El Bersheh. The expedition sent hither to rescue some of the most important records of ancient Egypt from oblivion was just too late to effect much of what was purposed, yet not too late to save a great deal that was valuable from its impending fate.

Fortunately, the copies of Lepsius, Hay, Nestor de l'Hôte, and Wilkinson, enable us to restore much of what has been recently destroyed, and the present volume will show that a goodly harvest has been gathered from this tomb.

from the hunting scene, our pl. vii. *b*, *d*, and *e* were selected no doubt to illustrate the costume.

Bl. 135, drawn by Eirund. (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*) Inscription on the "gateway" on the west wall, our pl. xvi. (*e*) Part of the title of Kay from the right-hand wall of the shrine, our pl. xxxiv. (*f*) The inscription belonging to the figure of Nub-unut from the back wall of the inner chamber, our pl. xx. (*g*) The inscription with royal names, from the right-hand jamb of the portico, our pl. v.

⁶ We are pleased to hear from Dr. Spiegelberg that some copies probably exist at Strassburg among the papers of the indefatigable Professor Dümichen, whose recent loss we so much deplore.

⁷ The print has been re-photographed, in order to preserve the record, and copies can be obtained on application to the Secretary, Egypt Exploration Fund.

3. THE NOMARCH TEHUTHETEP AND HIS FAMILY.

As is so often the case with Egyptian tombs, the inscriptions in that of Tehuthetep throw but little light upon the owner's life and descent. Regarding the earlier history of his family, a good deal of information can be gleaned from inscriptions in other tombs at El Bersheh,¹ and from the valuable collection of hieratic records recently copied in the quarries of Het-nub and published by Messrs. Blackden and Fraser;² but, as Tehuthetep himself is not referred to in any of them, it will be best to defer the consideration of this part of the subject until the inscriptions of the other tombs are published. For the present therefore we shall confine ourselves to those facts regarding Tehuthetep and his parentage and family that are recorded in the inscriptions of his own tomb.

On the jambs of the façade were four inscriptions, which were intended to give in a very succinct form the main landmarks in Tehuthetep's life; unfortunately, they are badly mutilated. The first tells that the prince Tehuthetep had been "a child of the king," under Amenemhat II. At Beni Hasan, likewise, Khnemhetep had been "a child of the king, of his bringing up,"³ and this shows what the meaning of the phrase is here, namely, that Tehuthetep had been educated in the palace with the royal children of Amenemhat II. Next, two of the inscriptions refer to Usertsen II., who reigned nineteen years. In one we find that Tehuthetep held the high position of "sole royal friend" under this king; on the other only the royal name is recognisable, but the inscription must have recorded some advancement. It is impossible to decide which of these two inscriptions took the second or the

third place in point of time. Lastly, the fourth inscription names Usertsen III.; but the indication of Tehuthetep's rank at this time is again destroyed. We may fairly believe that it was in the course of this long reign of over thirty years that Tehuthetep died and was buried, having seen the rule of three kings; but he may have survived into the reign of Amenemhat III.⁴

This is all that we possess of the chronology of Tehuthetep's life. His titles are very fully recorded elsewhere in the tomb. Most of them are to be found on pl. xvi. The civil ones are:—

1. *Er-pá*, "Erpa-prince."
2. *Há*, "Ha-prince."
3. *Sáhu báti*, "Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt."
4. *Semer uáti*, "Confidential friend of the King."
5. *Rekh seten*, "Royal acquaintance."
6. *her tep áa en Unt*, "Great Chief of the Hare nome."
7. *á set neb*, "Gate of every foreign country."
8. *Sab-ád-mer Dep*, "..... of Buto."
9. *her tep áat khentet*, "Chief of high offices."
10. *her tep Nekheb*, "Chief of the city of Nekheb."
11. *ári Nekhen*, "He who belongs to the city of Nekhen."
12. *khu ne ám áhá*, "Comptroller of what is in the palace" (?).

The most remarkable of these are No. 6, the title of the nomarch of the Hare nome, and No. 7, which perhaps means that Tehuthetep had the right to give passports over all the frontiers of Egypt. Those numbered 1-5 and 8-11 were commonly held by the great men of the period.

The religious titles were very numerous; they are:—

1. *mer henu neter*, "Superintendent of the priests."
2. *Ur dua em per Zehuti*, "Great of five in the temple of Tehuti." (With variant *hut* for *per* on p. 16.)

¹ To be published in *El Bersheh*, Part II.

² *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarry of Hat-Nub* (London, Luzac).


³ Compare *Beni Hasan*, Part I, pl. xxxii., and Part II., p. 10.

⁴ The united reigns of Amenemhat II., Usertsen II., and Usertsen III., would amount to about seventy-five years, allowing for co-regency.

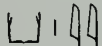



3. *kherp nesti*, "Regulator of the two thrones."
4. *her [se]-sheta ne reu peru*, "Set over the mysteries of the temples."
5. *her [se]shetu ne neter em est zesert*, "Set over the mysteries of the god in sacred places."
6. *her se-sheta ne medu neter*, "Set over the mysteries of the divine formulæ."
7. *her se-sheta ne khet neter*, "Set over the mysteries of the divine secrets."
8. *kherp hetep neter*, "Manager of the divine offerings."
9. *kher heb her tep*, "Chief lector."
10. *sem kherp shenzet nebt*, "Sem-master of all the tunics."
11. *Sekhem neteru*, "Who influences the gods."
12. *kherp hut net Net*, "Regulator of the temples of Net."
13. *hen neter Maât*, "Priest of Maat."

By far the most interesting of these are the two numbered 2 and 3, which are the titles of the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis.¹ Some of those numbered 4-7 are not uncommon; but as held by the high priest of Thoth, the god of wisdom, the scribe and recorder of the gods, they have a special significance. The rest of the titles are such as were often borne by the heads of great families.





Of the events of Tehutihetep's life, or of his personal character, we know scarcely anything. The scenes in the tomb are mostly of the ordinary type of the period. All the nomarchs were devoted to hunting, fishing, and fowling, and took delight in the excellence of their gardens and farm-yards. The quality of the sculpture and the loving detail in the gardening and other scenes indicate, perhaps, some special characteristics of Tehutihetep, and the great scene of the conveyance of the colossus is probably a record of an act unrivalled by any of his contemporaries.

As to Tehutihetep's family, his paternal grandfather  Nehera is named once,²

and the inscriptions on the inner wall of the shrine, in recording that Tehutihetep succeeded to the principedom held by his paternal grandfather, imply that he was Great Chief of the Hare nome. We shall have more to say about Nehera in the second part of this memoir.

The names of  Kay,³ Tehutihetep's father, and    Sat-kheper-ka, his mother, are several times found in the inscriptions, but only the chief titles of the former are recorded. He was "ha-prince of the city of the pyramid called *kha* of Usertsen,"⁵ and a

³ *Vide* pls. vi., x., xvi., &c.

⁴ *Vide* pls. v., vi., &c. The name is also written     pls. vi., viii., &c.

⁵ As there were three Usertsens in this dynasty, and as the names of their respective pyramids, with one exception, are either uncertain or unknown, it is necessary to consider to which of them this pyramid *kha* belonged. It has hitherto been attributed to Usertsen II., apparently on the sole ground that, while it occurred in the tomb of Tehutihetep, his was the latest cartouche known from thence. But our clearance of the façade revealed the name of his successor, Usertsen III.; so that the argument as it stood can no longer be sustained. Yet it is not very likely that the pyramid was that of Usertsen III., since the father of Tehutihetep, if he yet lived, probably reached a patriarchal age early in the reign of that king.

The only other evidence with regard to the names of the pyramids referred to comes from Prof. Flinders Petrie's discoveries at Kahun. It will be recollected that the town of Kahun was built in connection with the pyramid of Usertsen II., commonly known as the Illahun pyramid, and that on its site were found numerous papyri and seals from other documents now destroyed. Several of the seals name princes of the city of the pyramid called *Hetep-Usertsen* (*vide* Prof. Petrie's *Kahun, Hawara, and Gurob*, pl. x., Nos. 21-24). The same locality is also frequently named in the papyri, and it cannot be questioned that this was the name of the pyramid city of Usertsen II. Can, then, the pyramid of Usertsen II. have had two names, *hetep* and *kha*? In one or two papyri from Kahun the *hetep* of Usertsen and the *kha* of Usertsen are mentioned together; it is thus just possible that they are the names of two localities connected with the same pyramid.


Lastly, we know nothing about the name of the pyramid of Usertsen I.


The identification of the *kha*-pyramid is therefore a matter of extreme uncertainty.


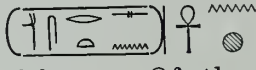




¹ Compare Brugsch's *Dict. Geogr.*, 1361.

² *Vide* pl. xxxiv., and cf. p. 39.

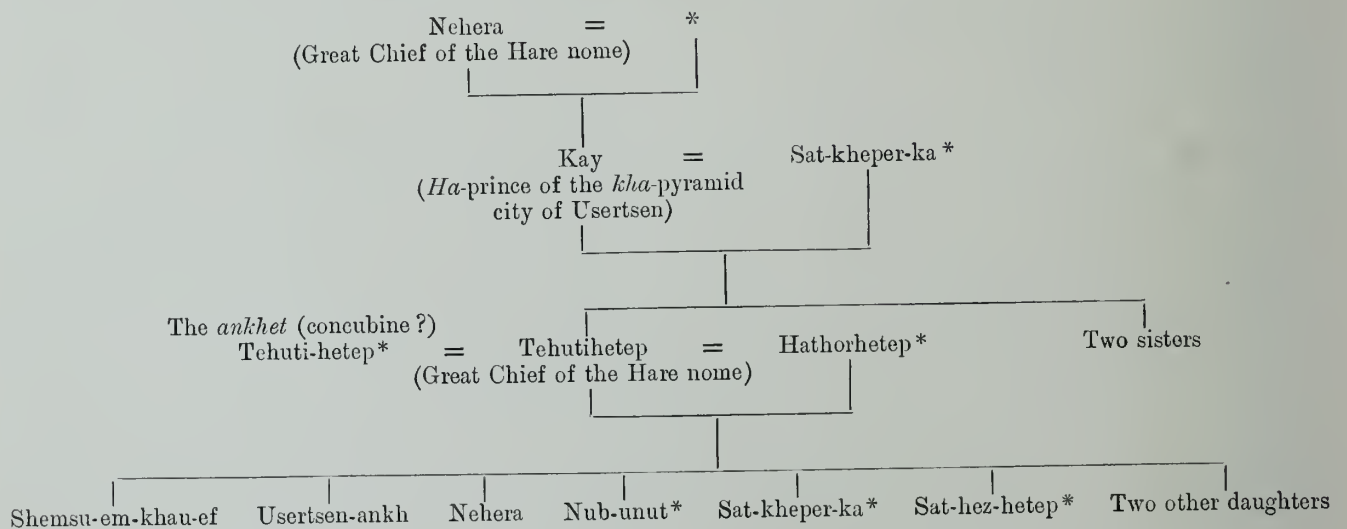
"superintendent of the priests."¹ So far as we can tell, his exalted office took him away from the Hare nome, so that he did not hold the principedom which his father Nehera had held. We may suppose, also, that his tomb was not at El Bersheh, but perhaps at the royal city of Memphis; and it is probable that for this reason Tehutihetep commemorated him, together with himself, in the shrine of his own tomb as with a cenotaph. Of the titles and parentage of Sat-kheper-ka nothing is known, the inscription (over her portrait on the right-hand wall),² which may have recorded them, being lost.

The name of Tehutihetep's wife  Hathor-hetep occurs three times, but her parentage is not given. She was a *hen-neter Hether*, "priestess of Hathor," and a *nebt per*, "lady of the house." Next to her, in the scene representing the female relatives of Tehutihetep on the right-hand wall, are two smaller figures of women, who may have been

his concubines, the title  *ankhet*, which is preserved with one of them, being of uncertain meaning.³


His children were eight in number—three sons and five daughters. Of the sons  Shemsu-em-khau-ef was the eldest; his portrait is given several times in the wall-paintings. The two younger ones were named  Usertsen-ankh and  Nehera. Of the five daughters the names of the three eldest only are preserved. These were  Nub-unut,  Sat-kheper-ka, and  Sat-hez-hetep. Mutilated portraits of the two youngest, and apparently portraits of two sisters of Tehutihetep, are found among those of his female relatives on the right-hand wall of the inner chamber.

The relationships recorded above may be tabulated thus:—



¹ Vide pl. xxxiv.

² Vide pl. xxviii., and cf. p. 36.

³ A slight correction of the original into  would produce the known female title *ankh-en-net*, meaning "female citizen" (?) or perhaps "courtesan."

* Female.

II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB, AND EXPLANATION OF THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

1. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

See PLATES II.-IV.

IN spite of the injury done by the earthquake, which completely ruined the front part of the tomb, its original plan can be restored with certainty. It was as follows:—

- (1) A deep portico, supported by two columns, with palm-leaf capitals.
- (2) A rectangular main chamber.
- (3) A small shrine beyond.
- (4) A shaft or gallery for the mummy, driven horizontally below the chambers.

1. The cliff has been trimmed back only a few feet for the façade. The excavation for the portico was broad and high (nearly 23 feet by 15 feet), leaving only a very narrow band of faced rock, about 9 inches at the top and about 2 feet at the sides.

The depth of the portico from front to back was 14 feet. A massive architrave of square section crossed the roof at about 2 feet from the front, and was supported by two columns of circular section with broad circular bases and palm-leaf capitals (for details see pl. iv.). In these columns the shaft tapers upwards; at the base it is 26 inches in diameter, at the top 21½ inches. The leaves forming the capital spring from four annulets; these probably represent a cord which bound the leaves together, but the ends of the ties in this instance are not shown, so that they can only be described as annulets. The columns

were surmounted by shallow square abaci, upon which the architrave rested. The base is 4 feet 8½ inches in diameter at the bottom, and 6 inches high; its sides slope and the top edge is rounded.

The depth of the portico behind the abacus is nearly 10 feet, and we have called this space "the Outer Chamber" in the plates and in the detailed description of the scenes. The ceiling is flat. In the centre of the back wall is a doorway 10½ feet high by 4 feet wide, the threshold of which is raised about 6 inches. The architrave of the door projects about an inch. The entrance was closed by a door pivoted on the right side. The thickness of the wall is nearly 5 feet.

2. The main chamber, or as we have called it in the plates, &c., "the Inner Chamber," was rectangular, measuring 20 feet broad by nearly 26 feet deep and 13 feet high, with flat ceiling.

3. At the middle of the back wall a flight of three low steps leads into a shrine, which was closed by double doors, the pivot holes for which remain at each side. The shrine itself is slightly narrower than this doorway, and hardly exceeds 4 feet in width. Its depth and height alike are 8¼ feet.

4. In front of the left-hand jamb of the portico is a rectangular pit, 11 feet by 6 feet in length and breadth. It descends vertically 9 feet. From its northern side runs a horizontal gallery, 7½ feet high and 5½ feet broad, beneath the left-hand wall of the tomb; where a part of

its breadth lay directly beneath the floor of the chamber, the latter was only a little over 3 feet thick. The gallery terminated at 55 feet, and was consequently driven in slightly beyond the shrine. The latter, being of small dimensions, left the tomb constructor ample space, as soon as the gallery had been carried beyond the end of the main chamber, to make an extension or niche on the east side of the gallery in the direction of the shrine, perhaps for the reception of the coffin or its furniture. The depth of the niche was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and its height was not more than half that of the gallery itself. In the middle of the gallery at this spot was a small square excavation in the floor, which perhaps was intended to receive part of the funeral outfit.

PRESENT CONDITION.

The principal injuries to the architectural features of the tomb are due to the earthquake, which drove the upper strata in the tomb south-westward; the columns were displaced, and the whole mass of rock over the portico, including its painted ceiling, has fallen down in a confused heap. The right-hand wall is fairly perfect, excepting at the top, where the movement of the strata has shattered it.

The left-hand wall has been almost quarried away. It seems probable that this had been done before the earthquake took place, as the quarrymen did not remove any part of the fallen rock. The mass of rock forming the back wall of the portico and front wall of the main chamber has been cracked in several places, and driven outwards. The side walls have also been cracked, and great masses have detached themselves from the right-hand wall, and lie in confusion on the floor, while here also the tops of the walls have been shattered. The shrine is practically uninjured as far as architectural features are concerned.

The clever concealment of the mummy-pit

must have exercised many would-be violators of the tomb. On the arrival of the expedition it was found that in the main chamber pits had been dug in four places through the *débris* and into the solid rock; probably some of these pits date from very ancient times. One great hole in the axis of the chamber had been extended right and left until it touched the lower gallery; probably the tomb chamber was robbed through this forced entrance. It was utilised by the expedition in clearing the mummy-pit, working from it first to the inner end and then outwards to the ancient entrance, which had probably been hidden for many centuries.

The greater part of the *débris* in the tomb was successfully cleared, and its nature ascertained; the rubbish was thrown outside, and the sculptured and painted fragments sorted. Only a few large blocks had to be examined without being raised or moved. Of the columns, the bases were found *in situ*; portions of the capitals still clung to the fallen and ruined architrave, and the shafts lay shattered amongst the *débris*.

2. SYSTEM OF DECORATION.

THE decoration of the tomb is as usual confined to the upper chambers, and consists of (1) painting applied to the limestone, the surface of which had been finely prepared for its reception with a very thin coating or wash of stucco, and (2) sculpture in very low relief; but in some cases the two methods were combined.

The jambs and lintel of the façade and the columns and architrave of the portico were painted pink (see pl. iv.) and marbled with pale green in order to resemble rose granite. The hieroglyphic inscriptions upon the jambs and architrave were incised and painted green (see pl. iv.).



FIG. 1.

The ceiling of the portico was richly painted up to the edges with yellow quatrefoils upon a blue ground (see fig. 1), and across the centre of it ran transversely a yellow band, in which the hieroglyphs given in pl. vi. were incised and coloured blue.

The *kheker* frieze of the outer chamber is almost entirely destroyed. It was painted only.

The scenes below were sculptured in very low relief, and probably were painted, though no trace of colouring can now be distinguished. The hieroglyphs around the doorway were incised. The inner surfaces of the jambs of the doorway to the main chamber were probably coloured pink, like the architrave and columns. The large hieroglyphs incised upon them were painted green. The whole of the thickness of the wall from the inside of the jamb to the surface of the outer wall of the main chamber was decorated with horizontal bands of blue, red, yellow, and green, about 3 inches wide, separated from each other by black lines, each $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide.

The ceiling of the inner chamber was decorated similarly to that of the portico, except that the narrow yellow band was painted longitudinally down the centre of the ceiling. The hieroglyphs upon this band were painted blue (see pl. vi.). In the centre of the ceiling there is a rectangular space of a different pattern, crossed by the beam and bordered by a black line. This space is filled with a black and yellow check pattern (see diagram of ceiling, fig. 2).

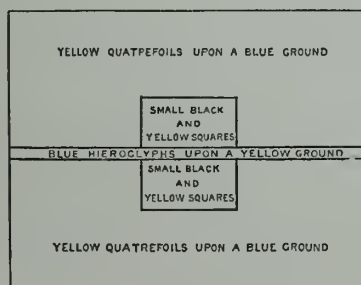


FIG. 2.

The frieze consisted of the usual *kheker* ornament painted red, blue and green (see fig. 3). Beneath this and at the sides of the walls is a border of coloured rectangles (yellow, blue, red and green), separated by black lines enclosing a white line. Be-



FIG. 3.

yond this is the peculiar roped pattern so common in old Egyptian tombs.



FIG. 4.

The dado is painted black, and is bordered above by narrow bands of red and yellow (see fig. 4). At the right-hand end of the dado of the left-hand wall was a false door, now much mutilated.

The inner surfaces of the jambs of the doorway to the shrine are painted, like the jambs of the outer doorway, with horizontal bands of colour. The bands here are blue and yellow, separated by black lines.

The ceiling is coloured blue and covered with yellow quatrefoils as in the other chambers, but here the quatrefoils are much smaller (see fig. 2); they measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. Longitudinally down the middle of the ceiling is painted a narrow yellow band, upon which are hieroglyphs (see pl. vi.); they are incised and coloured blue.

The frieze consists of small *khekers*, and beneath them is the usual border of coloured rectangles.

The dado is painted black.

The style of painting is uniform throughout the tomb, and the paintings are everywhere very carefully executed. The human figure (for a specimen see frontispiece) is always conventionally drawn according to the standards of proportion in vogue at the period. The quadrupeds are somewhat stiffly outlined; but the birds and fishes, especially those on the inner wall of the main chamber, are beyond praise. The hieroglyphs on the left-hand and inner walls of the main chamber, and in the shrine, are very elaborately executed, and much attention has been paid to matters of the minutest detail.

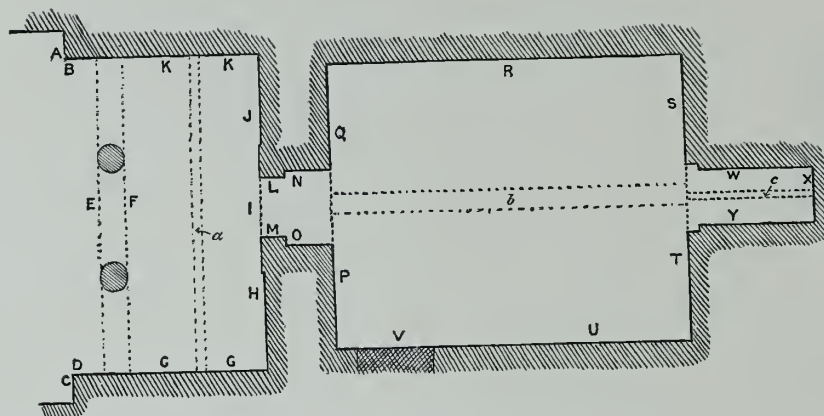


FIG. 5.—KEY PLAN TO SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

3. FAÇADE, &c. PL. V.

JAMBS OF THE FAÇADE (see Key Plan, A-D).

The mutilated inscriptions show curious dovetailing of the titles of the kings under whom Tehutihetep lived with those of Tehutihetep himself. Wishing evidently to put the royal titles prominently before the visitor, Tehutihetep placed at the top of each column the *ka*-name of the king, surmounted by the hawk as usual, thus at once giving a decorative appearance to the inscription. By another device possible in hieroglyphics he contrived to separate the cartouche from the *ka*-name (to which the sense of the inscription would attach it), so that the cartouches appeared together near the base of the columns, forming a second well-defined group of signs. In translating we probably have to take the *ka*-name and the cartouche together in the middle of the inscription. On the inside of the right jamb we propose to read :—

[*Āmakhy*] *khred seten kher Heru heken em maât*
 (*Neb-kau-Râ*) *hâ ur dua Zehutihetep*

“[The devoted one,] the king’s son¹ under the hawk
 praised (?) in truth Nub-kau-ra (Amenemhat II.),
 the *ha*-prince, great of five, Tehutihetep.”²

¹ See *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xxxi.


² For the reading Tehutihetep, see note on p. 1.

On the outside of the same jamb a similar inscription records his faithful service as *semer uâti*, “confidential friend,” to the king Usertsen II. Tehutihetep is here called *hâ*, “ha-prince,” and *kherp nesti*, “regulator of the two thrones.”

The inscriptions on the opposite jambs follow the same formulæ. The royal names of Usertsen II. on the inside and of Usertsen III. on the outside can still be recognised, but the central portions referring to the status of Tehutihetep in these reigns are completely destroyed.

These are the only cartouches that have been found in the tomb, and it is very fortunate that they should have been preserved at all in such an exposed situation. The fragments of the left-hand jamb, all of which were found by excavation, show that the hieroglyphs here were incised and coloured green on a pink ground marbled with pale green to represent granite.





ARCHITRAVE (see Key Plan, E, F).

The architrave is inscribed on the front and back, but not below; the colouring is the same as that of the jambs (see pl. iv.). In the middle of both the front and back is the central word  *er-pâ*, from which two almost

identical inscriptions run to right and left. On the front is :—

Er-pá há ur dua Zehutihetep mes en Sat-kheper-ka

"The hereditary prince, the *ha*-prince, great of five, Tehutihetep, born of Sat-kheper-ka."

On the back is the same legend, with the variation of   *kherp nesti*, "regulator of the two thrones," for   *ur dua*.

It will be observed that the double title (*ur dua, kherp nesti*) of the high priest of Thoth is divided, and that the two elements alternate in these inscriptions. The "short" titles of nome princes usually combine the civil and the religious, very often in the simple form *há, mer henu neter*, "*ha*-prince and superintendent of the priests."

4. OUTER CHAMBER. PLS. VI.-IX.

CEILING INSCRIPTION, pl. vi. (see Key Plan, a).

The transverse inscriptions on the ceiling of the outer chamber are similarly arranged. The hieroglyphs are incised and painted blue on a yellow ground. The right half of the inscription names Tehutihetep's father Kay; the left, his mother Sat-kheper-ka. He is described as *her tep áa en Unt*, "great chief of the Hare Nome," and *her sesheta en reu-peru-es*, "chief of the mysteries of its temples," &c.

RIGHT-HAND WALL, pl. vii. (see Key Plan a).

The hunting scene on the right-hand wall is very remarkable. Tehutihetep, leaning on a staff, is completely wrapped in a long blanket-like robe, leaving only his closely shaven head, his hands, and his sandalled feet visible. The garment is evidently intended to protect him against the cold breeze of the desert in the winter. This representation is probably unique. The inscription over him has lost four or

five signs from the top of each line. It reads :—

- (1) [*maa*] *áh áut set ásth ásha urt er khet nebt*
- (2) [*án er-pá*] *há sem kherp shenzet nebt sab ád mer Dep*
- (3) [.....] *her sesheta en maa uá*
- (4) [*ur dua*] *em per Zehuti ur qedet em perui máter (?)*
- (5) [*semá*] *nef semáu ensen kherp hetep neter*
- (6) [*semer uá ne me*] *rut ári Nekhen hen neter Maát ári (?) pe [neb]*
- (7) *há her tep áa en Unt Zehutihetep neb ámakh*

- (1) "[seeing] the netting of the gazelles¹ of the desert, behold! abundant were they more than anything,
- (2) [by the *erpa*-prince], the *ha*-prince, the *sem*-master of all the tunics, the *sab-ád-mer* of the city of Dep (Buto in the Delta),
- (3) [.....] chief of the mysteries of seeing alone,
- (4) [great of five] in the house of Tehuti.....in the two houses.....
- (5) one who received reports from those who received reports,² manager of the divine offerings,
- (6) [confidential friend] of the (king's) choice, he who belongs to the city of Nekhen, priest of Maat (goddess of truth)
- (7) the *ha*-prince, great chief of the Hare Nome, Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth."

In front of Tehutihetep we see two parallel lines of netting (placed upright on the wall), one end being closed by poles, and a cord or scare put in place by the huntsmen; the other end at the top of the wall is destroyed. The enclosed space is filled with sculptured details representing the surface of the desert covered with bushes, wild animals, and huntsmen. The Egyptian draughtsman has arranged them all in distinct rows, one above the other; seven of these remain, while one or two at the top have been destroyed.

Among the huntsmen are depicted the three

¹ The determinatives are figures of the oryx, the ibex, and the common gazelle.

² Literally, "one to whom those-who-were-reported-to-reported;" he was so high an official, that officers, who received reports from subordinates, themselves had to report to him.

sons of Tehutihetep, with their names, Shemsu-em-khau-ef, Usertsen-ankh and Nehera, shooting arrows. It is much to be deplored that the colours have entirely gone from this interesting sculpture, and that it has been much injured in other ways; yet what remains of it is very intelligible.

In the top row we see a man armed with bow and quiver advancing from the left towards a galloping animal (bubale?) accompanied by its calf, while a man crouching on the ground appears to be securing the end of a bolas or lasso to a stout peg by a slip-knot. The bolas has no doubt caught the horn of the animal, the upper part of which is destroyed. The legs of numerous animals are seen behind. At the right-hand end of the row an archer pursues a bubale (?) to the fence. Just below is a row of bushes, with a hare crouching.

In the next row on the left are two oryxes, and a man pulling at a bolas which has probably caught the hind leg of one of them; then six bubales and a calf; and a man whirling his lasso round his head to cast at a large animal already noosed by another huntsman at the end of the row. The last has foreign features, with pointed beard and long hair, and wears only a very narrow girdle; doubtless he is a Bedawi huntsman of the desert.

In the third row is an archer shooting at two ibexes accompanied by a young one. Behind them is a hillock, up which climbs a porcupine. Beyond is a leopard, then a gazelle, and below a bubale with calf and three addaxes (?).

In the fourth row Shemsu-em-khau-ef with his bow and quiver, and with spare arrows in his hand, shoots at a herd of oryxes. On the other side of the fracture there is a lion, a hare and a jackal; then two ostriches, and a man perhaps driving them.

The next row is much injured. On the right are Usertsen-ankh and Nehera shooting at a large antelope, above the fore-legs of which remain the hind-legs and tail of a little jerboa.

In the sixth row are the heads of four stags or fallow deer, nobly posed, and other game; we can also see the characteristic curled tail of an Egyptian hound.

In the bottom row men are setting up posts and driving back large wild oxen¹ with staves. They wear ostrich feathers in their hair, like the Egyptian soldiers.

LEFT-HAND WALL (see Key Plan, K).

The wall on the left-hand side is completely destroyed. We may conjecture that the subject was a scene of wrestling and fighting corresponding to the hunting scene on the opposite side.

INNER WALL, RIGHT SIDE, pl. viii. (see Key Plan, H).

Tehutihetep, wearing a collar, a fillet round the head and a short tunic, is in a canoe, fowling with a throw-stick. Two women, presumably his wife and daughter, are with him in the boat, and behind him were his three sons and an attendant holding a large shield. The papyrus clump which must have occupied the space between the end of the boat and the right jamb of the door has entirely disappeared, probably owing to its having been only painted, not sculptured. Similarly the water on which the canoe floats is represented only by a blank space. The same is the case with the water in the next narrow band below, in which are sculptured three boats laden with papyrus, &c.; in two of them, as often, the boatmen are represented sparring; the third boat is almost entirely destroyed.

The inscription, in eight vertical lines, above

¹ These oxen closely resembling the domestic breeds are also seen in *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pls. xiii. and xxx., Part II., pls. iv. and xiii., as well as in paintings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It has been the custom to identify them with various large species of antelopes, but the excellent sculpture at El Bersheh excludes this idea.

Tehutihetep's head relates to the *hamu en apdu an er-pá*, "catching of wild-fowl by the *erpa*-prince, Tehutihetep."

In the last row are men bringing offerings of the products of the marshes—wild-fowl, lotus-flowers, &c.

INNER WALL, LEFT SIDE, pl. ix. (see Key Plan J).

On the other half of the wall beyond the doorway, Tehutihetep stands in a canoe, spearing fish. His dress is nearly the same as in the picture just described, but he wears a different waist-cloth. The harpoon is poised in his hands; the right-hand edge of the picture is destroyed, but usually in these scenes the harpoon has a double point, on which are transfixed two fishes. A female relative kneels in the middle of the boat, and another stands holding a spare harpoon. In the field behind are the figures of the three sons; the top left-hand corner is broken away. The water beneath is full of fish and blue and white lotuses. Over Tehutihetep's head is:—

[*khens*] *sekhset seshu pehu meru* *an er-pá há semer uáti en merut ári Nekhen Zehuti-hetep* *sab ád mer khu-á kherp áut neb netert* *ur dua Kay sa Zehuti-hetep* *há mer henu neter Zehutihetep* *ár en Sat-kheper-ka neb ámakh*

"Canoeing in the papyrus beds, the pools of wild-fowl, the marshes and the streams, by the *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince, he who belongs to Nekhen, Tehutihetep. The *sab-ad-mer*, great of five, Kay's son Tehutihetep. The *ha*-prince, the superintendent of the priests, Tehutihetep, born of Sat-kheper-ka, possessing the reward of worth."

Below this scene is another representing three boats laden. The inscriptions accompanying them are fragmentary and difficult to translate.

INNER WALL, CENTRE, pl. ix. (see Key Plan I).

The framing (technically "architrave") of the door reaches nearly to the ceiling, and the little space above was left blank. The framing itself is very much destroyed. Of the lintel a fragment

of the right-hand end remains *in situ*. At the top of it two horizontal lines of inscription were incised, running in opposite directions. The first shows the beginning of a prayer to Anubis, the second the name of Tehutihetep at the end of the line. Below this are the remains of a figure. Two other pieces belonging to this lintel are given in pl. ix., 4 and 5, but the positions of these fragments are uncertain, and the restoration of the scene is therefore impossible. On each jamb are four vertical lines of hieroglyphs, terminated by a single horizontal line, giving the name and titles of Tehutihetep. Very little remains of all this. At the bottom of each jamb was a figure of Tehutihetep standing with a staff in his left hand and a *kherp*-sceptre in his right hand.

In the thickness of the wall are traces of a vertical line of inscription in large hieroglyphs as follows, repeated on each side:—



Er-pá há sab ád mer ur dua Zehutihetep neb ámakh

"The *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince, the *sab-ad-mer*, great of five, Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth."

5. INNER CHAMBER, PLS. X.-XXXI.

OUTER WALL, RIGHT SIDE, pl. x. (see Key Plan P).

On the right-hand side of the front wall is a scene of ceremonial purification.¹

On a plinth stands Tehutihetep with his arms to his sides, while two figures pour water over him. For this ceremony he wears a wig and false beard, a broad necklace and a short pleated tunic; his feet are bare. His titles are above him. On each side of him are corre-

¹ Compare scenes of a similar character in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 65, tomb of Ra-shepses; ii. 104, 3, tomb of Ptah-hetep (Old Kingdom); and iii. 11, f., tomb of Renni at El Kab (XVIIIth Dynasty).

sponding figures, those on the right being much mutilated. In the copy by Nestor de l'Hôte the names of the two top figures on the left are preserved. The first, who pours the water, is the second son of Tehutihetep, Usertsen-ankh; the second, carrying a basket, is the third son, Nehera. On the other side we see that the eldest son, Shemsu-em-khau-ef, is carrying the vessel, but the figure pouring on this side is not named. The vessels contain cleansing materials, for on the left is the inscription *erdet bed-neter*, "giving natron," but on the right the name of the substance is destroyed.

In the next row on the left the *kher heb Mehti (?)*-em-hât, "lector Mehti (?) -em-hat," reads from a roll :—

zed medu áá.....ek gesui-ek tem árt-ek

"saying: Be washed thy [limbs], thy bones, be completed (?) what belongeth to thee."

The corresponding compartment on the right is destroyed. The same is the case with the next row, where on the left there is a man bringing a curious spoon-like instrument, while a second carries a staff and a box. The latter is called a box of natron (*hen en bed-neter*).

In the bottom row on the right a man carries a *hen en...*(?), "box of...(?)." On the left a similar figure brings a *hen [en] hebsu uáb*, "box of clean clothes."

The titles of Tehutihetep were very fully given, but are now much destroyed. In the last seven lines can be deciphered :—



[mer upt] (1) *ent hetep neter se-hetep neteru her-*
(2) *es áa en set neb ur dua em hetu* (3) *Zehuti ent*
gemá meh kherp hetep neter (4) *her se-sheta en*
reu-peru hen neter en Khent- (5) *hesert.....*
(6) *.....her tep nekheb* (7) [see plate] *há kherp*
nesti Kay sa Zehutihetep neb ámakh

"[Superintendent of the distribution?] of the divine offerings, pacifying all the gods with them, the gate of every foreign country, great of five in the temples of Tehuti of the South and North, regulator of divine offerings, set over the mysteries of the temples, priest of *Khent-hesert* (Thoth) chief of the city of Nekheb, the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, Kay's son Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth."

OUTER WALL, LEFT SIDE, pl. xi. (see Key Plan Q).

On the other side of the door is a corresponding scene, very much destroyed. Tehutihetep is fully clothed and wears sandals, but there is no trace of the usual staff; priests and others are performing ceremonies before him. His titles are almost entirely destroyed. The subordinate figures seem to have been in four rows as before. At the left-hand end are his sons one above another, and the *uab*-priest Sebek-a-na. Immediately before his foot is the *án hen Nekht-ánkh sa Sep*, "scribe of the box, Nekht-ankh's son Sep." On the right all the upper figures are destroyed; the second from the bottom is dressed in a long tunic and holds up an egg-shaped object in his hand. He is perhaps named *Tehutinekht ár en Sat-hez-hetep*, "Tehutinekht, born of Sat-hez-hetep." The inscription in front of him is much mutilated, and ends—

.....entiu ár áa pen, ".....those who made this tomb."

Before Tehutihetep's feet a man pours water. The inscription in front reads—

seth án hen-neter, "the priest cleanses."


Another man carries a stick and a box.

LEFT-HAND WALL, pl. xii.-xix. (see Key Plan R).

The left-hand wall of the inner chamber is divided into seven rows, forming two great

scenes running from end to end. The uppermost is the famous scene of dragging a colossal statue, occupying five rows. The subject divides itself into the representation of— (1) Tehutihetep, with attendants, following the statue; (2) the inscription of thirteen lines describing the scene; (3) the colossus dragged by rows of men; (4) the temple or building to which it was brought, and the sacrifices made on the occasion.

1. *Tehutihetep, with attendants, following the statue* (pl. xiii.).

Tehutihetep, richly appressed, is proceeding on foot. His head is closely shaven. He wears a loin-cloth, a long tunic, and over his shoulders a light cape, fastened above his waist; on his breast is a broad necklace, and sandals are on his feet; in his right hand is a  sceptre, painted with bands of colour, and the early copies by Hay and Nestor de l'Hôte show the staff in his left hand, and in front of him a fragmentary line of titles in large characters. The staff and inscription are now both destroyed; the inscription ran—





[*Er-pá há*] *semer uáti en merut her tep áat khentet sekhem neteru* [*ári pe neb há Zehutihetep neb ámakh*]¹

"The *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince, confidential friend of the (king's) choice, chief of the high offices, who influences the gods, he who belongs to every town, the *ha*-prince, Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth."

Behind him in the bottom row is an armed attendant carrying a battle-axe and with a peculiar garment (?) hanging at his back; three spaces behind him are left blank, then

come the three sons of Tehutihetep in order— Shemsu-em-khau-ef, Usertsen-ankh, and Nehera. They wear loin-cloths, pointed in front; a very unusual decoration, namely, a long bead necklace, is seen round the neck of the second, and may once have figured on the others.

In the third row is the *sahu kefa áb kherp ás Áb-kau sa Sep*, "servant who conceals (?) the heart, he who superintends [the construction of] the tomb, Ab-kau's son Sep." He holds a spear and battle-axe. Next there is another spear-holder, then a sedan-chair borne on the shoulders of four men. The three first have sandals, and the third figure wears a curious garment round the loins.

In the second row one man bears a shield of dappled bullock's hide; another a large fly-flap and a long staff; the third a short staff and a fly-flap. The last two have large oval plates, or skins, the nature of which is obscure, strapped on their chests. The fourth carries an ample robe (perhaps the winter garment of pl. vi.) thrown over the left arm. The fifth bears a bow and a basket; the sixth a bow and short staff, with a closed quiver slung on his back. In the top row remain the lower parts of five sandalled figures. The first figure probably holds either a baton  or a censer  burning incense. The second has a long staff; the inscription before him seems to read,*uáb*, "pure....." The inscription before the third probably reads, *ánti uáb*, "pure frankincense;" that before the fourth, *hebs uáb*, "pure clothes." These figures probably carried boxes containing the materials mentioned.

2. *The Long Inscription* (pl. xiv.).

Immediately before the large standing figure of Tehutihetep is an inscription of twelve lines, referring to the transport of the colossal statue, as figured in the scene that follows. Its importance was long ago recognised by

¹ Restored from the inscription on the right-hand jamb of the doorway to the temple on pl. xvi.

Chabas,¹ who in 1873 made the first attempt to translate it. In 1878, Professor Maspero² improved considerably on the first version; Professor Erman³ printed a partial translation in 1885; Professor Brugsch did the same in 1891;⁴ and Maspero revised his own translation last year for his *Etudes de Mythologie*.⁵ The text is extremely difficult, so that at present it is impossible to fix the sense satisfactorily. The copy given by Lepsius appears to be absolutely correct as far as it goes: we have compared it with copies by Nestor de l'Hôte, Bonomi (Hay), and with Major Brown's photograph, without finding any error. The inscription is now all destroyed, excepting a scrap of the first line. The earlier copies show lacunae at the tops of the lines, due to the earthquake; fortunately, in clearing the tomb, we found amongst the *débris* two inscribed fragments, which complete the text from the second to the eighth line. These fragments have been presented, with others, to the British Museum. The text in the plate is from an enlargement of Major Brown's photograph collated with Lepsius's excellent copy.

1. *shems tut ne meh XIII em áner ne Het-neb. ásth sheta urt uat át-nef her-es er khet neb[t]. ásth sheta* 2. *her áb en reth áteh áat her-es má* (sic) *áner sheta ne sent em áner-ne-rudet. erdá-kuá iut* 3. *zamu ne hunu neferu er árt nef uat hená sau ne khertiu-neter ne áku kherpu hená* 4. *rekhu zed reth net nekht-á á-n[á] er ánt-ef áb-á fu netiu demdet hát nefer urt maa* 5. *er khet nebt áau ám rehen-nef her khred nekht-á em áb sedau* ⁶ (?)




¹ *Melanges Egyptologiques*, III^e série, Tome ii., p. 115 et seq.

² *Transactions of the S. B. A.*, vol. vii., pp. 7-10.

³ *Ägypten*, ii., pp. 633-4.

⁴ *Ägyptologie*, pp. 293-5.

⁵ Tome i., pp. 55-61.

⁶ This seems to be some form of the word  perhaps written simply  or, if such a spelling be possible, : the last is favoured by all the copies and the photograph.

áb-sen kheper 6. *áui-sen nekht ná ám her árt peht se kha*
ásth tut-pen áfd em per em du áa em 7. *shau er khet neb[t]. háuu áper meh em shepsesu dep máá ne meshau-á ne neferu zamu* (for *neferu ne zamu*?)
 8. *kher seku dep máá-ef dept re-sen em duaut-á em hesut-á ent kher seten mesu-á* 9. [*kháu*?]⁷ *kheker mekhet-á heseptiu-á her nás duaut. seper-na er dema en net-ten* 10. [*pat*?] *demdet hát nefer urt maa er khet nebt háu áru em hát sab-ád-mer áru ne* 11. [*mekhet*?] *em khenu net-ten semen-n[á] em khaut dep áteru. en ka áb-sen nen ár-ná árt-á ná* 12. [*khertneter*?] *semenkht en zet zet mekhet hetep ás-á pen em katu-ef ent zet zet*

Following⁸ the statue of 13 cubits in stone of Het-nub⁹ (alabaster quarry). Behold, very wonderful¹⁰ was the road upon which it came, more than anything. Behold, wonderful 2. to the minds of men was the dragging of valuable stone along it on account of the stone (the rocky way from the quarry?), (and) difficult (would it have been even) for a mere square block (or "foundation block") of sandstone. I caused to come 3. troops¹¹ of goodly youths in order to make for it the road, together with the guilds (or "orders") of tomb-sculptors and quarrymen, the foremen with them 4. knowing how to point out (lit. "say") the strong-armed.¹²

⁷ The remains of a sign shown on the new fragment are very strange, and do not readily connect themselves with any known hieroglyph.

⁸ Bringing a statue in procession is expressed as "following" it.

⁹ On the quarry of Het-nub see p. 23.

¹⁰ *sheta*, "secret," "mysterious," almost in the sense of "difficult," or of "wonderful."

¹¹ The word *zamu*, which we translate "troops" and which occurs so many times in the inscriptions referring to the transport of the colossus, seems to mean (1) able-bodied youths fit for training, almost "subject to conscription"; (2) trained gangs. In order to accomplish their great undertakings, the Pharaohs must have had at their command enormous bodies of disciplined men accustomed to united labour. The word *zamu* appears always to be used with reference to this kind of discipline. "I trained the *zamu* of my nome," or "the *zamu* of Egypt," is a phrase frequently found in the mouths of princes and Pharaohs. They would probably be employed not only in the construction of pyramids or temples, but also in warfare on occasion, in keeping in order the dams, &c.

¹² This was Professor Maspero's translation before the discovery of the new fragment confirmed in a remarkable way his suggested restoration of the line: yet even with that confirmation of his reading we cannot feel sure that

I came to bring it, my heart enlarged, the townsmen all rejoicing: exceeding good was it to see 5. more than anything.

The aged one among them leaned upon the boy, the strong-armed was with the trembler (palsied), their hearts rose, 6. their arms became strong, each one of them displayed the force of a thousand men.

Behold, this statue, well squared, was coming forth as a rock (or, "when coming forth from the block of stone"), more 7. costly than anything. A fleet had been equipped and filled with valuable things; the foreheads (?) of my army, the goodly youths of my troops were 8. with the feats of its foreheads (?).¹ Their speech was full of my praises (and) of my favours of-before-the-king, my children 9. in splendour (?) adorned after me. My country-folk shouted praises. I approached to the habitation of this town. 10. The whole divine cycle (?) rejoiced, it was exceeding beautiful to see more than anything that the *ha*-princes had done formerly (or) the *sab-ad-mer* officers had done 11. [for future fame] within this city, (whom) I had placed on altars upon the river-bank.² Their hearts never devised these things that I did, in that I had made for myself 12. [a sepulchre?], established for ever and ever, after that this my tomb rested from its work of eternity.

3. *The colossus dragged by rows of men* (pls. xii. and xv.).

The statue taken from the quarries of Hetnub must have been of alabaster, or rather arragonite, and is by far the largest monument in this material on record, being a seated statue, 13 cubits, i.e. over 20 feet, in height. In the picture it is all white, excepting the head-dress and artificial beard, which are coloured blue. The right arm is bent; the hand, closed and holding a napkin, rests on the thigh. The

only clothing is a head-dress and loin-cloth. The chief interest centres in the former, the copies of which vary considerably. The head-covering was painted blue, with black ribbing. The questions to decide are, whether it had the uraeus in front, so representing a king, and whether it had a twisted pig-tail behind. None of the early copies show the uraeus, but the photograph strongly suggests it. The copies by Ricci and Weidenbach show a short and thick prolongation of the head-dress behind the plinth, bound round at the end with a cord. The photograph partly confirms this, but the prolongation appears to be narrower, thus indicating that the head-dress terminated in a variety of the pig-tail (really a gathering together of the material) that is proper to this adornment of kings. The throne is plain; doubtless it was a solid block in the original, with legs and seat indicated in sculpture; the cushion is shown bent over the low back. Behind was the usual plinth to support the figure, reaching to the neck. The base is rectangular and plain. The colossal statue is placed upright on a wooden sledge; a band formed by a number of ropes (coloured brownish) passes over the lap and arm, and is fixed to the side of the sledge, while two other bands below the knee and above the foot are brought round horizontally behind the chair. In order to tighten them, these bands have been forcibly twisted, and the twist secured by sticks passed through and kept in place with cord. Where the bands were liable to chafe the stone, the statue has been protected by pads of dappled ox-skin.

The front of the sledge is curved upwards and rounded at the top, and to it are attached four hawsers, dragged by parallel lines of men, each row consisting of twenty-one pairs, pulling on opposite sides of the rope, and a leader, the latter with the end of the rope over his shoulder. On the knees of the colossus stands a superintendent, clapping his

the meaning is correctly given; we might translate the last part "overseers well skilled. The strong-armed said, 'I have come to pull it, with pleasure in my heart,' " showing how willingly men volunteered to help.

¹ Cf. *Catalogue des Monuments*, I., I., *de Philae à Ombos*, p. 66, where *hetru em seku tep-maâ-ef* occurs; but the passage is extremely difficult.

² Or "the *ha*-princes placed before, the *sab-ad-mer* officials placed behind (in the procession) within this city, I entertained at banquets upon the river-banks."

hands to mark time.¹ The inscription over him reads:—

- (1) *zed medu² det khen ne meshá* (2) *án meduu (?)*
(3) *Zehutihetep mery seten³*

- (1) Speech: Giving the time-beat to the soldiers
(2) by the signal-giver (?) (crying), (3) "Tehutihetep! beloved of the king!"

Another figure standing on the base pours water from a jar in front of the sledge, perhaps only a ceremonial act, since even in large quantities water poured upon the ground could not assist the dragging. In front of the statue is a man holding a censer and fanning the burning incense in honour of the figure. The inscription reads: *árt seneter*, "censing." Over the head of the figure he is described as the—

- (1) *kher heb án ut ne per seten* (2) *án ás pen deb (?)* (3) *Heru Amená-ánkh*

- (1) Lector, mummy-painter of the house of the king,
(2) decorator of this tomb, the embalmer (?) (3) of Horus, Amena-ankhu.

In the row below the statue are three men with yokes, bringing water, presumably to pour before the statue. The inscription reads—

fat mu án per zet

Carrying water by (men of) the house of eternity.


Behind them three men carry on their shoulders a great block of wood with curiously jagged outline at the top. The inscription above reads—

fat khet ne seta án hemtiu (?)

Carrying logs of conveyance by the workmen (?).

Behind them are three overseers, armed with sticks.

¹ Wilkinson's copy shows a water-skin upon his back slung from his neck, but this is not traceable in the photograph, nor in any other copy.

² This is Prof. Erman's new reading of the group  which he considers to be an abbreviation. We have no doubt that this is the correct view.

³ Restorations from the old copies are not given in pl. xv. and reference must be made to the general plate No. xii.

Behind the statue are four rows of men, three in each row. The upper ones have a close-fitting loin-cloth, the rest have it pointed in front. One of the leading figures, probably that in the third row, is the

kherp katu em tut pen án hen [Ne] khta-ánkh sa Sepa

He who undertook the work of this statue, the box-painter (?), Nekhta-ankh's son Sepa.

The leader of the fourth row is the *mer per Neherá*, "steward Nehera."

With regard to the men dragging the statue, the two places of honour, in the middle, are reserved for the youths of the privileged military and sacerdotal classes, while the two outer rows are occupied by the able-bodied youths of the East side and the West side of the nome respectively. Although none of the rows of men are uniformly dressed, the costumes are worth noting.

(1) The two outside rows are very similar to each other; there are, perhaps, only two or three shaven heads in each. Most have frizzed heads of hair, a considerable number have the hair plain, and the only dress is the usual close-fitting loin-cloth.

(2) The priests wear the same dress as the last, but are distinguished by the large proportion of shaven heads amongst them. Two only have their hair frizzed, and about a dozen have smooth hair.

(3) The dress of the warrior class shows more variety, and is altogether the most noteworthy; the neat white loin-cloth of civil costume appears nowhere. All the dresses are open in front, in order to give freer action to the limbs, and are completed by a separate piece of stuff hanging from the belt. In many cases the tunic is long, white, and cut square in front; one such tunic is speckled black. In a great many instances a much smaller garment is worn, cut away and rounded in front, and coloured brown. It is not easy to ascertain

the nature of the pendant piece.¹ Its colour may be green, brown or white, generally marked with paler spots. In two cases there are coloured cords hanging down from the girdle and terminating in tassels, and a few have a pointed white object—probably a narrow end of the cloth—hanging in front. Two have bands crossed on the chest, and encircling the body below the breast. The hair is generally frizzed (coloured black, at least in some cases²)—never shaven; sometimes it is smooth, and in seven cases an ostrich feather is worn in it. In the fifth group from the right a youth wears a fillet round the top of the head, and the shape of the wig of his neighbour on the left is peculiar.

The inscriptions referring to the four rows are as follows :—

Row 1. The inscription, in two vertical lines at the right-hand end of the row, reads—

zamu ne áment Unt iu em hetep

The troops of the West side of the Hare nome, arrival in peace (i.e. dragging the statue to its destination).

The inscription above the draggers reads—

zed medu áment em heb áb-sen fu maa-sen menu ne neb-sen ááu kheper em her-áb-sen per-ef per át-ef áu-ef em nekhenú

Speech: The West is holding festival, their heart expands when they see the monuments of their lord, the heir coming into their midst, his house and the house of his father when he was a child.

Row 2. The inscription at the end of the row reads—

zamu ne áhautiu ne Unt sper(?) em hetep

The troops of fighting-men of the Hare nome, arrival in peace.

¹ A very similar costume is worn by the huntsmen at Beni Hasan, vide *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., pls. xiii. and xxx.

² The colours in Wilkinson's copy appear untrustworthy, and our remarks on the colours are based upon careful *fac-similes* by Mr. Howard Carter of two pairs of the men.

The inscription over the military draggers reads—

zed medu neferu ne zamu ár ne neb-ef ááu uaz em hestu áthy neb iu-en se-uaz-en mesu-ef em khet-ef áb-en fu em hes[t]u net seten men uah

Speech: Oh! goodly youths of the troops, the creation of their master, the heir flourishes in his inheritance by the favour of our lord the king, let us come, let us make to flourish his children after him, our hearts expanded with joy by the royal favour of the king, may he long remain on the throne!

Row 3. The inscription at the end of the row reads—

sau ne uábu ne Unt iut em hetep

The orders of the priests of the Hare nome, arrival in peace.

The inscription above the priestly draggers reads—

zed medu meru Zehuti Zehutihetep mery seten mereru netiu-ef hesesu neteru-es nebu reu-peru em heb áb-sen fu maa sen hestu-ek ent kher-seten

Speech: Oh, beloved of Thoth! Tehutihetep, beloved of the king, beloved of the people of his city, praised by all their gods. The temples are holding festival, their hearts expand with joy when they see thy favours of before the king.

Row 4. The inscription, in two vertical lines at the end of the row, reads—

zamu ne ábtet Unt iut em hetep

The troops of the eastern side of the Hare nome, arrival in peace.

The inscription above the draggers reads—

zed medu uza en neb-á er Theretá Mehti(?) háu ám-ef átefu-ef em heb áb sen fu háu em menu[-ef] neferu

Speech: Proceeded my lord to Thereta, the god Mehti(?) rejoices in him (and) his fathers are in feast, their hearts expand with joy, rejoicing in his beautiful monuments.

In the top row seven groups of men are seen advancing to greet the arrival of the statue. The details of the figures are much destroyed. The men in the second group from the right, which is the best preserved, have

shaven heads (yellowish, speckled with black), and hold palm branches. Their loin-cloths are similar to those of the soldiers; but the white tunics are much shorter, and alternate with the rounded brown tunics;¹ they also have tassels or white strings with black ends. Some of the other groups are more like the civilians and priests. Above this row is an inscription which reads as follows:—

*Unt em heb āb-es fu āau-es khred[u] zamu-[es]
se-uaz khredu-es her [ne]hem āb-sen em heb maa-
sen neb-sen sa neb-sen em hest āthy her ārt menu-ef*

The Hare nome is in feast (and) its heart expands with joy, its old men and the children of (?) its troops who refresh its children are rejoicing, their hearts in feast, when they see their master and their master's son in the favour of the king, making his monument.

4. *The temple or building to which the statue was brought, and the sacrifices made on the occasion (pls. xii. and xvi.).*

The fourth section of this great scene is now almost destroyed, and it is with great difficulty that we have been able to ascertain its general character from existing fragments and the copies and notes of previous explorers. Arundale's slight, but careful, sketch² of the side of the tomb shows the wall in a more complete state; and, although it gives no details, we learn from it where to place the figure of a doorway copied by Bonomi³ and Lepsius⁴ and recently cut away.⁵ Unfortunately the remainder of the scenes appear to have been much injured even then. From pl. xii. it will be found that there was at the base of all, in the fifth row, a scene of sacrificing oxen; above it

must have been offerings brought to the statue by men and women occupying four rows which reach to the frieze. At the end of the wall and corresponding to these four rows a great inscribed doorway was shown, displaying a figure or standing statue of Tehutihetep within. On the lintel and jambs of the doorway we read the name and full titles of Tehutihetep in no less than eleven lines, and over it the name of the building or estate, viz: *Zehutihetep-men-meru[t] em Unt*,⁶ "Tehutihetep-firm-in-favour in the Hare nome." The bases of the jambs are represented plain.⁷

As to the rest of the scene, very few details can be recovered. The signs composing the line of inscription on the left of the scene of offerings are faint and mutilated, but they are all identifiable and read:—

*sekhepet hāt uzhu ānent hesept-ef āmt Unt en tut
pen en hā Zehutihetep neb āmakh*

Bringing the first-fruits of offerings, brought by his lands within the Hare nome, to this statue of the *ha*-prince Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth.

Of the scenes of offerings only a few figures can be traced. Near the gateway were placed vases. The statue within the gateway is accompanied by the titles and name of Tehutihetep. The inscriptions on the gateway itself, after eliminating mere repetitions, are as follows:—

On the lintel:—

- (1) *Er-pā, hā, ur dua em per Zehuti, kher heb her tep*
- (2) *kherp neter hetep, kherp nesti*
- (3) *mer henu neter, sem kherp shenzet nebt, āri
Nekhen,*
- (4) *sab-ād-mer,*
- (5) *her tep heseput (?) qemau, sekhem neteru*

- (1) The *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince, great of five in the house of Tehuti, chief lector,
- (2) Regulator of the divine offerings, regulator of the two thrones,

¹ Copied in colours by Howard Carter.

² Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.*, 29,814, fols. 3 and 4.

³ Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.*, 29,814, fol. 6.

⁴ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 135, *a-d*.

⁵ The two jambs of the doorway, which were cut away in 1888 or 1889, are now preserved in the Florence Museum, and were photographed there by Prof. Flinders Petrie in 1893.

⁶ This is given in Bonomi's copy, *vide* Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 29,814, fol. 6.

⁷ They are marked "plain" on the copy of Arundale.

- (3) Superintendent of the priests, *sem*-master of all the tunics, he who belongs to the city of Nekhen.
- (4) *Sab-ad-mer*,
- (5) Chief of the southern estates, having power with the gods.

On the left-hand jamb :—

- (1) *her tep aa ne Unt, her sesheta ne mezu neter,*
- (2) *semer uati ne merut, her tep aat khentet,*
- (3) *sahu bati, semer uati, am ab Heru neb ahâ, ari pe neb.*
- (1) Great Chief of the Hare nome, set over the mysteries of divine words.
- (2) Beloved confidential friend of the king, chief of high offices,
- (3) Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, confidential friend of the king, he who is in the heart of Horus (the king), lord of the palace, he who belongs to every place.

On the right-hand jamb :—

- (1) Corresponds to line 1 on the left-hand jamb.
- (2) Similar to line 2 on the left-hand jamb.
- (3) *bener merut*, "sweet of love."

NOTE ON THE COLOSSUS.

The scene that we have just described is of great interest in several ways—the nature of the statue, its colossal size, and the representation of its conveyance, are all of singular importance; in fact, there is no other scene depicting the method of transport by land of the enormous monuments that the Egyptians were accustomed to erect.

A seated statue of arragonite, 13 cubits in height (about 22 feet), must have weighed at least 58 tons. Granite statues weighing fifteen times as much are not unknown in Egyptian archæology. Although the El Bersheh colossus was so far inferior to these in size, the difficulty of removing it was increased by the softness and delicacy of the material. It seems that no machinery whatever was used, and the method employed was the same as that for conveying statues of very moderate bulk.

The conveyance of the monument was effected by obtaining large bodies of men

trained to combined action. They appear to have been all drawn from the Hermopolite nome, and are represented as giving their services joyfully in honour of their prince. We now know with tolerable certainty the situation of the quarry from which the colossus was obtained.¹ The eastern mountains for a long distance north and south from El Bersheh contain veins of alabaster, and there are signs of workings for this beautiful material at many points. The whole extent of the quarries from north to south may be estimated at a hundred miles at least, but by far the most important that have been discovered as yet are two situate ten miles in the desert east of Tell el Amarna. The graffiti in them attest their great importance, the northern one having been worked especially under the Old Kingdom, the southern by the Hermopolite nomarchs of the Middle Kingdom. Professor Petrie has sketched the position of these quarries in his last memoir,² and shows the course of a well-made road carried from the northern quarry down the wady into the Nile valley, crossing the head of a ravine by a causeway. From the southern quarry the road is less well defined, but the two tracks must have joined after a few miles. Perhaps for the execution of so large a work as this colossal statue Tehuti-hetep may have preferred to resort to the earlier (northern) quarry, but his inscription lays stress on the difficulties of the stony road, "such as would have been difficult even for the conveyance of a square block of sandstone." It would have been impossible to convey the statue over hill and ravine in a direct line north-west to El Bersheh or Hermopolis. The usual road must have been followed, taking advantage of the wadys, and running nearly due east. When the soft sandy edge of the desert was reached, a firm track

¹ *Vide El Bersheh*, Part II., Introduction.

² *Tell el Amarna*, 1894, pl. xxxiv.

was obtained, probably, by making a stone pavement such as is still discernible about the quarries at Aswân¹; and when the procession arrived at the alluvial clay of the cultivated land, free use would be made of great wooden beams laid longitudinally upon the ground.²

The labour of dragging must have been enormous, and probably the engineer would economise his forces by making all the use he could of the current of the Nile. If the statue was destined for Hermopolis itself, it must have been conveyed across the river; and in any case it is doubtful whether it could have been taken by land along the eastern shore as far as El Bersheh, for at the present time the land passage is extremely narrow. The shipment of large monuments was of course well understood in Ancient Egypt, and we may feel sure that this mode of transport was used in conveying the colossus of Tehutihetep, and that it floated down the stream for several miles.

The whole task must have occupied a very large force of men for many weeks. The scene in the tomb no doubt represents the last stage of the journey and the arrival of the monument at its appointed place.

There is no evidence to be found that so large a block of alabaster was ever again quarried, and it seems at first sight almost incredible that it should have been taken by any person of lower rank than the sovereign

himself. The head-dress of the statue is of a royal type, and the photograph shows signs even of the emblem of the royal uræus, so that we have been strongly tempted to see in this statue a representation of one of the Usertsens. There is, however, much evidence on the other side.

First, the inscription in the scene of offerings appears to specify the statue as that of Tehutihetep, and it is only by inserting an extra sign that we can attribute it to anyone else.²

Secondly, as Professor Petrie has pointed out, the royal head-dress, though without the uræus, is occasionally found on statues of deceased nobles.³

Thirdly, the statue is not called royal or connected with the name of a king in any of the inscriptions; and this would be strange if the statue actually represented one of the Pharaohs.



Fourthly, the analogy of scenes in the tombs representing the conveyance of statues, as well as the whole drift of the scenes and inscriptions in this tomb, point distinctly to its representing the nomarch Tehutihetep.

After full consideration, therefore, we have no hesitation in accepting the view taken by all previous writers on the subject.

It was the custom in Ancient Egypt to place in the tomb of a great man one or more statues representing him, and serving as the material basis for his "shade" or *ka* to rest upon. Numbers of such statues of the Ancient Empire have been found in the tombs. The statues were capable of receiving offerings; they might also find a place in the temples of the gods instead of in the tombs, and such portrait-statues have often been discovered in temple ruins. In the tomb of Hep-zefa at Asyût is a record

¹ In the survey of the quarries at Aswân, M. de Morgan has explained the method of conveying granite blocks from the quarry to the river, stating also that the tracks themselves were left bare, and that only piles of stones are to be found at the sides of the tracks (see *Catalogue des Monuments*, I., i., p. 64). The Editor wrote the above from recollection of what he took to be stone-paved tracks in the Eastern desert in 1887, but it is possible that the deep sand deceived him as to their nature.

² According to Prof. Petrie's suggestion, the piece of wood with notched edge carried by four men was a beam, to be laid in the ground with the jagged side downwards, so as to grip the ground and prevent it from slipping with the movement of the colossus.

² As the copy stands at present, the inscription reads:—"Bringing offerings to the statue of the prince Tehutihetep," but by reading  *ân* instead of  *ne*, we might obtain a plausible reading, "bringing offerings to the statue by the prince Tehutihetep."

³ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., Bl. 64 *bis*.

of ten contracts with the priests of the local divinity for offerings to be made to the prince's statues. One of these statues is stated to be in the temple of Anubis, another in that of Up-uat, the chief god of the nome; a third was apparently at the foot of the flight of steps which led up the hill to his tomb; and a fourth was in the pleasure grounds, which consisted, no doubt, of gardens with a reservoir at the edge of the desert.¹

In the tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empire we find a number of scenes of the transport of statues, either to visit a temple or to be placed for the first time in their appointed situation. The transport was always accompanied by certain ceremonies—the pouring out of water on the ground before the sledge, and the burning of incense. The former ceremony may have had the practical object of easing the passage of the sledge and reducing the heat caused by the friction. In several of the tombs at Beni Hasan a small shrine containing a figure is being conveyed in procession, followed by a number of attendants, while dances and acrobatic feats are performed before it.²

In the earlier tombs of the Vth Dynasty we also see statues. In the tomb of Ptahshepses, discovered by M. de Morgan,³ there are processions of several standing statues, with and without shrines. In another tomb at Sak-kara, that of Rashepses, published by Lepsius,⁴ there are figured four colossal statues, all of different types (two standing and two seated),

each drawn by twelve men and a leader. The head-dress of one of these is very similar to that on our colossus,⁵ and its form is undoubtedly to be explained by the fact of the deification of the dead man.

In the tomb of Tehutihetep the statue is being dragged in the direction of a great inscribed gateway. Between this and the statue are scenes of offerings. It may be doubted whether the statue was to be placed within the building represented by the gateway, or was to remain where it was outside. The gateway may represent the entrance of Tehutihetep's palace. The position of the nomarch's figure within it is curious, for, according to the method usually followed by Egyptian artists, if it were a figure standing upon the ground, it should be placed on the level of the floor of the entrance; in reality it is raised half-way up the side. Tehutihetep himself is figured in the procession behind the colossus, so that there is little doubt that this figure in the gateway represents a sculpture, possibly a statue raised in a niche or upon a high pedestal. Or, again, the artist may have broken through the usual rules, and endeavoured to produce a view in perspective.

The building was named *Zehutihetep-men-meru[t] em Unt*, "Tehutihetep-firm-in-favour in the Hare nome," and we may conjecture that it was either the nomarch's palace or a country residence of his, or a chapel intended only to receive his *ka*-statues.

From the monuments and *débris* in the granite quarries of Aswân, and the sandstone quarries at Jebel es Silsileh, we learn that figures were sometimes finished on the spot before removal; but it seems probable that the final touches would not be given to the sculpture until it had arrived at its destination. Notwithstanding this, the colossus of Tehutihetep appears as if quite finished in the

¹ The inscription is published by Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siût and Dér Rifeh*, pls. 6-8, and has been translated by Professors Maspero and Erman. The latest translation is in Maspero's *Etudes de Mythologie et Archéologie Egyptiennes*, i., p. 53 ff., where a number of documents dealing with the subject are brought together; see also *Trans. S. B. A.*, vii., p. 6 ff.

² See *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pls. xiii. and xxix., and Part II., pls. vii. and xvii.

³ *Revue Archéologique*, xxiv., p. 18 ff., and pls. i., ii.

⁴ *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 64 bis.

⁵ It has not the uraeus.

picture, and the inscription, by its reference to the stony road, makes it probable that it has been dragged straight from the quarry through the desert to the river side, floated down to the city, and then drawn up to its place.

Before leaving this subject it is to be noted that the expression "the praises-of-before-the-king" is frequently introduced into the inscription, and it is probable that Tehutihetep was indebted to the Pharaoh either for the gift of the statue or for permission to set it up to his own memory.

Capture of Birds and Fish (pls. xii. and xvii.).

The four bottom rows on this wall are almost entirely occupied with the subject of the annual stock-taking of the herds. At the outer end, however, a space corresponding in height to the three upper rows (Nos. 6, 7 and 8) is partitioned off, and contains a scene of Tehutihetep taking the leading part in netting a flock of wild fowl, while a number of peasants are figured drawing a shoal of fish ashore. The designer has had the courage to represent the two captures together in the same pool, and he has not drawn in the outline of the bird-net. With regard to the last remark, however, we may suppose that the signal for pulling has not yet been obeyed, so that the edges of the net are hidden in the water; the birds, in fact, are still feeding, undisturbed.


In the top left-hand corner is seen the net full of fish, with its floats on the edge, the fishermen at each end just pulling it ashore. The narrowness of their girdles is characteristic.

The rest of the pool is crowded with ducks and geese of many kinds. The blue and the white lotus appear in the water here and there. Tehutihetep is seated on a stool, his wife Hathorhetep standing in front. Above them was a figure giving the usual signal for closing

the net by stretching out a cloth in his two arms; only a fragment of this remains. Tehutihetep holds the cord in his hand, and behind him was a row of probably eight fowlers ready to pull. The end of the cord is secured to a peg at the back. Over the signal-man is a fragment of the usual inscription, *redet sekhet*, "causing to catch"; and above the row of kneeling fowlers, *det her ne uhâu em sekhet aptu in hâ*, &c., "giving assistance (?) to fowlers in netting wild-fowl by the ha-prince," &c.

The results of the capture are displayed above, where avocets and other birds are hung in bunches from a pole by the wings or feet, and from their attitudes are clearly still alive; other birds are in crates or cages. At one point the division of this scene from the next is uncertain; in fact, it seems that the artist wished to connect the scene of capturing wild-fowl with the cattle scene by the introduction of domestic geese, without drawing any line of demarcation. The mutilation of this part of the scene prevents us from being certain on this point; one may perhaps consider that some of the birds captured were deprived of their power of flight and driven into the farmyard. An official with his back to Tehutihetep seems to be attending to this; at any rate, the row of oxen (No. 8) in the next plate is followed immediately by a double row of geese facing in the same direction.

Annual Stock-taking of the Herds (pls. xii. and xvii.-xix.)

At the inner end of the wall is a lightly-constructed building, a kiosque or booth, called  *seh*, in which is seated Tehutihetep. He is "watching the great counting" of the oxen. This was evidently a very great occasion in the nome. In front of him is seen the arrival of a number of boats, and the cattle are driven up to his scribes in three

rows. The *seh* has an ornate Egyptian cornice, supported by light columns, with lotus-bud capitals and small circular bases; below the cornice are inscribed the titles of Tehutihetep, starting in the middle and running right and left to the ends. No doubt this represents the front of the *seh*,¹ and Tehutihetep looking out of it should have faced the spectator; but an artistic representation of this attitude being impossible to an Egyptian and contrary to his traditions, this part of the subject is given in profile. The great man is seated on an elegant wooden chair of the usual Egyptian pattern, dressed in his fine robes and holding a long staff and feather fly-flap. A reed mat covers the floor, and a little dog of turnspit type stands beneath his master's chair. The inscription reads:—

*ma[a irt?] thenut áat em áderu-[ef net kher seten
hená áderu-?] ef ne per zet ásth ásha urt er khet
nebt, de-ef hesut er [sedem kheseef-ef en sedem?]
áp-ef set ne seten ne zet zet án há ur dua kherp
nesti Zehutihetep mes ne Sat-kheper-ka neb ámakh*


"Seeing the making of a great counting of his cattle [of-before-the-king (of the king's gift) with his cattle] of the house of eternity, being indeed very numerous more than anything, he gives praise to the obedient, [he punishes the disobedient?], he counts it to the king for ever and ever: by the *ha*-prince, the great of five, the regulator of the two thrones, Tehutihetep, born of Sat-kheper-ka, possessing the reward of worth."

The row of boats is somewhat injured, but presents many curious details. We learn first that it was the custom for a great man, in order to avoid the unpleasant neighbourhood of the sailors, to put the crew into a separate

boat, which towed his own finely-furnished dahabîyeh, the latter being without mast or oars.

At the left-hand end we see on one of these dahabîyehs a pilot standing with his sounding-pole in front, and the steersman ready to guide the rudder in the stern. Near the bows is placed a *seh* containing a magnificent throne, or more probably a sedan-chair, coloured black and white,³ for use also on shore; a figure of the noble seated in it is faintly traceable, and he holds a large fly-flap. Nearer the stern is a rectangular mat-work cabin, and over it is a pole placed horizontally in two forked uprights, probably in order that an outer shade might be thrown over the cabin in the hottest weather. A tow-rope connects the dahabîyeh with its tug, which here shows eight oars on one side; the rowers sit on benches or stools; the rowlocks are not visible. The boat is going northward with the stream, the mast is therefore unshipped (with the sail wrapped round it), and rests on two wooden props and on the roof of the cabin. This boat also has a cabin of mat-work like the last. The next boat is larger still, and has ten oars on the side; its rudder-post is of enormous size. From the action of the pilots in these three boats it is apparent that they are close to their destination. In front of them is a smaller boat, with its oars (six to the side) already shipped and its crew gone. In front of this again are three large boats, very much like the first group, one of them being a dahabîyeh. They are moored to the bank, the oars shipped and strong punting-poles driven into the muddy bottom to hold them tight. The inscription above them reads:—

*iut em hetep sper er seh ne irt thenut áat em áderu-
ef ne kher-seten hená áderu-ef [ne per] zet em
heseput Unt án há kherp nesti ur det semer uáti
ne merut est áb seten sab[-ád-mer há*

¹ The building here shown in elevation from the front is sometimes (e.g. in the tomb of Paheri, of the XVIIIth Dynasty, at El Kab, see pl. iv. in the Eleventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund) represented in section . From these pictures we ascertain that the *seh* was a summer-house of wood, open in front and probably at the sides, the roof supported in front by two light columns.

² The restoration is from the inscription over the boats.

³ For ivory and ebony; shown in a coloured *fac-simile*.

Kay su Zehutihetep mes en Sat-kheper-ka neb amakh]

"Arriving in peace, approaching to the hall of the great counting of his cattle of-before-the-king and his cattle of [the house of] eternity from the farms of the Hare nome: by the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, great of five, beloved confidential friend, resting-place of the heart of the king.....*sab*[-*ad*-mer, the *ha*-prince, Kay's son Tehutihetep, born of Sat-kheper-ka, possessing the reward of worth]"

This inscription implies that the noble in the boat is Tehutihetep himself.

The second row seems also to be at a certain distance from the *seh*, and probably represents the assembling of the cattle. In front are two pairs of long-horned bulls fighting. In the first group the animals have just crossed horns, and are testing their powers of pushing;¹ in the second group one of the bulls has succeeded in getting below the guard of the other, and its sharp horn has probably penetrated the neck. The inscription reads: *sefekh ka nekht*, perhaps "let loose (?) mighty bull!"²

As usual in this tomb, the dresses are of interest. The herdsman generally wear long tunics, ribbed horizontally, and long hair; a few, however, evidently of an inferior class and deformed, have only the narrow girdle of the fishermen. Several of them carry in their arms rolls of ribbed matting (of reeds?).

The two lowermost rows begin with the presentation of the chief herdsman to the prince.

¹ The bull fights, so often represented in the tombs, may be displays for the amusement of the spectators. The inscriptions over corresponding groups at Beni Hasan (in Pt. I., pl. xxx.) are:—*upt kau an sau Khnemu-nekht*, "matching the bulls by the herdsman Khnemunekht," while one of the herdsman exclaims, *ha su*, "charge him." And over the attendants of the two bulls about to charge (in Pt. I., pl. xiii.) is:—*ha su meru aht ka nekht*, "Charge him, O thou favourite of the cows, O thou mighty bull."

² At Beni Hasan (Pt. I., pl. xxx.) we have a similar group:—*sefekh mery aht*, "let loose (?), O favourite of the cows!" (In *Beni Hasan*, Pt. II., pl. vi., the attendants appear to be separating the bulls.)

The chief herdsman, as well as the introducers, are provided with the neat loin-cloth that we see on most of the officials represented in the tomb. The under-herdsmen have the same two varieties of clothing as before.

Behind, in the second row, are several groups of calves, each group led by a herdsman. Reed mats are thrown over the backs of the young animals to protect them from the cold. Following them is a man with a long tunic, who carries a tray of conical loaves and some lotus flowers. Two others bear six rolls of reed matting between them on a pole.³

A number of fine fat oxen of different colours, some of them having horns artificially shaped, are brought up in the third row. Their necks are decorated with broad ornamented bands, and each is led by its herdsman.

The beginning of this row is destroyed, but the nearest official to the *seh* was a *mer per*, "steward." Next came the *an neferyt*, "the scribe Neferyt," the top of whose writing tablet we can just see. Then comes the *mer per en hesept*, "the steward of the domain." An officer with his stick introduces one of the chief herdsman; the legend over him reads *medu em bah*, "speech in the presence." The second is introduced by another officer, and the legend over him continues the salutation to the prince: *uza ab-ek*, "may thy desire prosper!" Over the procession of fat oxen is a continuous inscription, reading:—

meseb auau ne hat mezut kheft her erpa ha sahu bati kherp (rekh) seten semer uati en merut her sesheta ne khet neter khu (?) ne an aha kherp (sic) rekh seten mater

"Leading oxen of the best of the stalls before the face of the *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince," &c.

In the next row are numerous milch cows, some with and others without horns, a few

³ The longitudinal lines of the reed-stems are too fine to be visible in the plate.

calves, and behind them two bulls, one of which is dappled. The hindmost has a bundle of reeds upon its horns. Three herdsmen bring up the rear. The titles and figures at the head of this line are broken away; one of the figures, probably the fourth, is the *ân hen*, "the scribe of the box;" next is the *mer âderu seten*, "superintendent of the royal herds;" the third is the *mer per ne per zet*, "superintendent of the house of eternity." Three herdsmen armed with sticks, and directed by two officers, appear to be keeping back the cows. The inscription over the officers is difficult to restore; it can hardly be *hesebu kau*, "counting the bulls." The legend beyond is also difficult and imperfect. It is the song of the herdsmen, and seems to read:—

*zed medu ân shemsu kau :.....he ne then
shâ, khenz-then semu, un-then shenu, [â]u sa-
then nefer ne hâu-then.....kema tut-then
.....peh-then senb âb-then behesu
.....but ne mah-then nezem ne per-then
.....uz re ne nemt.....then khetem
re er h.....hâ Zehutihetep in em hetep
er then.....*

"Uttering a speech by the followers of the oxen :
..... ye stamp the sand, ye tread the fodder,
ye browse on the herbage, your back, good for
your body..... your haunches, healthy
your belly, your calves evil is voyage,
pleasant is your disembarking
opening the mouth of the shutting the
mouth for the greedy the ha-prince,
Tehutihetep, comes in peace to you."

NOTE ON THE SHIPPING.

WE will here gather together a few remarks on the constitution of a princely flotilla during the Middle Kingdom. We see that the ships described above belong to the prince Tehutihetep, and form the flotilla with which he went to perform his great official functions. Probably three vessels would constitute a unit, namely, the dahabîyeh, the tug, and the war-ship as a convoy.

We have several representations of shipping belonging to the Middle Kingdom in the tombs of Beni Hasan. The earliest of these is in the tomb of Khety,¹ where there is a coarsely-drawn scene of probably the same nature as the present, with three rows of cattle at the top, and two of ships on the water below. In the upper row are two dahabîyehs, each drawn by a tug with numerous oars. In the lower row are four vessels with masts, the sails faintly indicated; in one of these the sail is being lowered, while two men on the bank are driving in a mooring-post with heavy mallets. In the later tombs of Amenemhat and Khnemhetep II. the drawing is better and the boats are of a more developed design. In that of Amenemhat² we see the mummy of the prince under a *sch*, apparently being conveyed up the Nile to Abydos. The funerary barge on which it is carried is of a peculiar shape, and is furnished with two rudders; it is towed by two sailing ships containing soldiers—the front one with a large sail, the second one with a small sail and numerous oarsmen. In this case we may take it that the second boat with the oarsmen is the tug proper, on which, aided by the current, they would depend for going down stream; and that the leader is the war-ship, which has taken the other boats in tow to increase the speed up stream with its large sail. Again, in the same tomb,³ and corresponding to the last scene on the other side of the doorway, the *harîm* of Amenemhat is going down the stream to Busiris. The war-ship takes the lead with its complement of rowers, then comes another rowing boat, and lastly the dahabîyeh with the *harîm*; the tow-lines are not shown. In the tomb of Khnemhetep II.⁴ we have the same boating scenes as those of Amenemhat; but, although it is of later date, the boating

¹ *Beni Hasan*, Part II., pl. xii.

² *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xiv.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xvi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. xxix.

arrangements may seem rather less luxurious. There are only two boats in each scene. The funerary barge is towed by one sailing-ship containing soldiers; and the *harim* boat, in which the officers of the *harim* are shown, has its own oarsmen, and is preceded, but not towed, by a second boat containing the male portion of the family. Probably the dangers of navigation were so much increased by the towing that it was found preferable for each boat to carry its own crew.

Many parts of these boats in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnemhetep II. are brilliantly coloured, especially the rudders.

A passage in a story current at the end of the Middle Kingdom illustrates, and is illustrated by, the boating scene on pl. xviii. In the Westcar papyrus¹ we read how Khufu despatched his son Hor-ded-ef to visit the magician Deda: "Then a flotilla was prepared for the king's son Hor-ded-ef. He sailed southward to Ded-Seneferu, and when the flotilla moored at the quay, he went up by land seated on a sedan-chair of ebony, with its staves of *ses-nezem*² wood, and spangled with gold."

The white and black colours used in depicting the sedan-chair of Tehutihetep point to the combination of ivory and ebony, which are so often mentioned in Egyptian texts as the most luxurious materials for furniture.

INNER WALL, pls. xx.-xxiii. (see Key Plan, s, t).

On the back wall is represented the netting of fish and fowl, a subject we have already seen illustrated on the west wall; but here it is differently treated, with the addition of a scene of bringing the captured game, &c., to

Tehutihetep. The wall is divided up on the right into eight equal rows of scenes, on the left the divisions are unequal.

The width of the top scene is fixed by the height of the space above the door. The whole of this row is occupied by one subject: the capture of wild fowl with a clap net by Tehutihetep and his eldest son. Above the two figures is the inscription, reading:—

*hâ mer henu neter rekḥ seten semer uâti ur dua
Kay sa Zehutihetep neb âmakḥ*

"The *hâ*-prince, superintendent of the priests, royal acquaintance, confidential friend of the king, great of five, Kay's son Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth."

To the right are three vertical lines of hieroglyphs, reading:—

*sa-ef en khet-ef mery-ef ent set-ab-ef ârer ḥesest-ef
Shemsu-em-kḥau-ef, neb âmakḥ*

"His son of his body, the beloved one of the place of his heart, doing that which he praises, Shemsu-em-kḥau-ef, possessing the reward of worth."

Tehutihetep's wife stands before the two figures, and perhaps gives the signal to pull. Several lines, destined, no doubt, for the description of the scene, have been left blank. The signs below, a jackal followed by the hieroglyph for a pool of wild-fowl, &c., are difficult to interpret; possibly they give the name of the pool, or possibly some epithet of the wife; or they may describe the action. In front of Tehutihetep and his son are a crate full of birds, and an elliptical cage of basket-work above it. The end of the rope, pulled tight by the prince and his son, is fastened to a peg in the ground; the moment represented is when they have just closed the net. They are advancing towards the right, whilst their faces are turned towards the net. The net itself (see pl. xxi.) is laid in a large pool full of wild-fowl, with blue and white lotuses dotted over it. The edge of the pool is conventionally represented by spaces of vertical green lines (for grass?), alternating with a small-leaved plant. As to the working

¹ Erman, *Pap. Westcar*, pl. vii.

² The wood of the carob tree or locust bean, *Ceratonia siliqua*, according to Loret.

of the net, the rope is formed into a large loop, round which the edges of the net are bound; the end of this loop is fastened to a peg in the water, and the net was no doubt laid open upon the surface. When the signal was given that the flock of birds had settled upon it, the rope was suddenly drawn tight, thus closing up the loop and drawing the edges of the net together and enclosing the birds. Among the birds we recognise the avocet and numerous species of duck.

The scene below is of the same width as the last, and represents a net full of large fish, pulled to land by ten men, eight of whom have over their shoulders straps fixed to the rope, while only one man at each end is free to act independently.

The inscription above reads:—

*ser á-ek hesy, mák de nen Sekhet á-es nefer[t]
Sekhet heb-nes "át em hetep" ne semer pen ur dua
em per Zehuti hes-es mer-es há Zehutihetep*

"Raise thy arm, please; behold thou the goddess Sekhet¹ has given us her hand; good is Sekhet, she has captured a "welcome" (i.e. in fish) for this royal friend, the great of five in the temple of Thoth; whom she praises, and whom she loves, the ka-prince Tehutihetep."

In the middle of the scene are two short vertical lines of hieroglyphs, reading:—

ár Sekhti áker de-ek shed-en

"Act, good Sekhti, allow us to pull."

On the left of the scene are two mutilated lines of hieroglyphs:—

..... Sekhti de-ek ár-en

"..... O Sekhti, cause us to do."

A narrower row below shows the operation of forcing food down the throats of domesticated

birds. This seems to take place under cover. A roof-pole is supported by three forked up-rights, which divide the space into four compartments. In the first a man is feeding a crane, *zat*, four others of the same species are waiting their turn, and above them is seen a vessel of food. In the next three divisions there are three species of geese called respectively *re*, [*therp*], and *set*.² In front and above the feeder is a basket full of pellets, either a hieroglyph or a representation of the food.

In the next row we see the treatment of the captured fish and birds. At the left-hand end the superintendent of the fishers and fowlers leans on his staff and watches, whilst a man splits the fish down the back upon a sloping board, and lays them open to dry in the sun. The fish are brought to him by a man who has two baskets hung on a yoke over his shoulders; one of these baskets he holds upside down to turn out the contents. To the right is a frame formed of a long cross-bar and two uprights, and upon the former are slung several trussed geese, a bunch of live avocets, two wicker cages, and three skins. A man is kneeling and taking out birds from a small crate, and two large crates containing live geese are placed before him. In the bottom row eight servants are heavily laden with fruits, lotus flowers, fish, birds (alive and trussed) and skins(?).

The last subject is continued in the bottom row of the right-hand side of the wall; in fact, all this side is occupied with representations of bringing the spoil before Tehutihetep. He himself is figured large, with his favourite daughter Nub-unut standing before him, wearing bracelets, anklets and collar, besides the

¹ Sekhti, *sekh*et, Sekhet.—Sekhti means a person concerned with or living on the *sekh*et *ḥḥḥ*, i.e., in its primary sense, the reedy, marshy land in the Delta, about the Natron Lakes, etc. The Sekhti caught fish and wild-fowl, or gathered the reeds and lotuses; and Sekhet, "the marsh-goddess" (see also *Beni Hasan*, Part II., p. 23), was patroness of these pursuits.

² In the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus the *re*, *therp*, and *zat* are all allowed the same amount of corn for fattening, namely, $\frac{1}{6}$ of a *heqt* (gallon), about a pint and a half a day; while the *set* only receives $\frac{1}{12}$, less than one-third of the others, and a little less than half a pint. See *Proc. S.B.A.*, xvi., number for June.

tight-fitting dress, slung from her shoulders as usual. Her hair or wig is long, falling to the breast, and a fillet passes round over the forehead, with a lotus in the knot at the back.

Above her are her titles and name:—

*sat-ef net khet-ef arert heses[t]-ef ra neb Neb-[unut],
nebt amakh*

"His daughter, of his body, doing what he praises every day, Nub-unut, possessing the reward of worth."

Tehutihetep is in his usual garb. Over his head are the remains of his titles, and behind him stand a number of his most faithful servants. Of these the top figure is quite destroyed. The second carries a great shield and battle-axe. The third carries a bow and fan; he is named the *sáhu kefa áb kherp ás pen Áb-kau sa Sep ár en Sep*, "servant who conceals (?) the heart, who superintends [the construction of] this tomb, Ab-kau's son Sep, born of Sep." The next holds a short staff and a battle-axe; he is the *sáhu kefa áb Ápá sa Neherá*, "servant who conceals (?) the heart, Apa's son Nehera." The fifth holds two rolls of papyrus, and his name was perhaps Tehutihetep. The sixth holds staff and sandals, and the seventh is almost effaced.

In front of Tehutihetep there is a line of inscription in large characters:—

maa árt ham remu áa urt er khet nebt

"Seeing the making of a large capture of fish, greater than anything."

Of the bearers of the game, we have in the top row only one figure remaining, carrying a large fish; in the next four rows there are carriers of fish, &c., and three seated figures in each.

The name of the first seated figure is *sa-ef Shemsu-em-kháu-ef*, "his son Shemsu-em-khau-ef." The names of the other two are destroyed. In the third row is *sa-ef ne khet-ef Usertsen-ánkh*, "his son of his body, Usertsen-ankh." Behind him are the *án hen*, "scribe of the

box," and the *mer á-khenuti*, "chamberlain." In the fourth row is *sa-ef ne khet-ef mer-ef Neherá*, "his son of his body, whom he loves, Nehera," followed by the *mer áht*, "the superintendent of the arable fields," and the *shemsu árert*, "attendant of the court." The fifth row is headed by the *mer sáht Nefer ár ne Zehutihetep*, "treasurer Nefer, born of Tehutihetep." Behind him is a *mer per*, "steward," and a *mer per ne per zet*, "steward of the house of eternity." The sixth and seventh rows continue the subject of the bottom row, and end with two lines of hieroglyphs:—

ne ka-ek ánu ne sekhet (?)

"for thy ka, products of the sekhet (?) "

RIGHT-HAND WALL, pl. xxiv. for a general view of the fragments, and pls. xxv.-xxxi. for the fragments on larger scale (see Key Plan, v, v).

Of this wall a fragment at the bottom of the inner end is still in place. The great panel from which pls. xxv., xxvi., and xxvii. are taken is still standing at the side of the tomb, and it has been only slightly shifted by the earthquake.¹

The remainder of the scenes so far as they now exist are on blocks fallen from the wall and lying confusedly on the floor. One huge block, probably with a large fragment of the painted scene on the under surface, was too heavy to be turned over. All the rest of the fragments have been copied and, where possible, fitted together and shown in their probable position in pl. xxiv. Amongst them we recognize clearly a piece of the right-hand edge of the wall with panelled border (see pl. xxvii.).

At the inner end must have been a colossal figure of Tehutihetep, dominating the whole

¹ This large fragment was copied on a small scale by Sir G. Wilkinson. From his copy a good deal of restoration has been introduced into the small scale plate and pl. xxvi.

of the scenes: a fragment of the tunic is visible on a block, pl. xxviii. 3. In front of this figure must have been the row of large figures of his wife, mother, daughters, &c.

The general scheme of the wall therefore consisted of Tehutihetep with his family watching the occupations of his farmers, gardeners, artificers, &c. A narrow band at the base, below the feet of the large figure and continuing to the outer end of the wall, shows the household officers of the prince. In fact, the entire wall was intended to display the magnificence of Tehutihetep's family and estate; his sons and daughters, his retainers, his serfs, and the artificers employed by him.

At the inner end of the wall, in front of the colossal figure and above those of his family, were displayed the choice unguents and precious vases and other products, which constituted an important part of the treasury of a luxurious palace.

The subjects were as usual grouped together on the different rows, but it is difficult to make such a reconstruction of the fragments as will be free from all incongruity.

Thus the gardening scene in the fourth row is followed by the gathering of grapes, and this correctly enough by a scene of pressing out the juice in a cloth or bag; but in the next row above is undoubtedly recognizable the treading of the grapes. We can only suppose that the disposition of the figures of the attendants on the daughters required a certain amount of space, and forced the end of the vintage scene out of the fourth row into the row above.

The principal divisions of the subjects are as follows:—

I. Agricultural subjects.—The two top rows towards the outer end of the wall, and a tiny compartment on the extreme outer end of the third row.

II. Potters.—In the next compartment of the third row. The firing of the pottery,

however, can only be placed at the end of the vintage scene in the second row.

III. Making bread, &c.—In the third row, next to the potters.

IV. Gardening.—Outer end of fourth row; followed by the vintage scene in the same row, continued in the middle of the third row.

V. Spinning and weaving.—In the fifth and sixth rows at the outer end.

Very little can be found of the upper rows of the inner end. The great block already mentioned (p. 32) will probably give us important information in regard to this, if means can be found to raise it.

There is a fragment of the titles of Tehutihetep in large hieroglyphs (pl. xxviii. 1), which must have been placed over his head or slightly in front of him upon this wall; in fact, there is no other position for it in the tomb. The same is the case with fragment No. 2, pl. xxviii., in which jars of unguents are placed on tables (as in *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xiii.). The plan of the wall does not give room enough for this to have been placed behind Tehutihetep.

The position of the fragment, pl. xxvii. 1, is uncertain. The upper row seems to represent gleaners in a harvest scene, in which case it should be placed at the left-hand end of the second and third rows of pl. xxv., but the second row fits better with pl. xxix. 1.

The figure of Tehutihetep must have occupied nearly the full height of the wall above the bottom row. The numerous female figures standing before him, with their names above, occupy the height of three of the rows of the outer end. Several female attendants are ranked in two rows beyond them.

Lastly, in the bottom row of all, at the outer end, a number of officials are standing facing to the left; then, after a wide gap, are seen the heads of the three sons of Tehutihetep, facing likewise to the left and probably forming the leading figures of a long row. To the left of this point the figures face the other

way, and represent the attendants of Tehuti-hetep, continued up to the end of the wall.

I. *Agricultural Subjects.*

In the top row (pl. xxv.) are rams being driven over the fields by herdsmen with whips. The inscriptions name this operation "ploughing"; probably it consisted in trampling seed into the ground which had been left moist by the inundation. Similar scenes are common in the Ancient Kingdom, but this is perhaps the latest known instance. Between the feet of the animals are seen weeds. Behind the herdsmen is a man with a hoe, and behind these again are two or more ploughs drawn by oxen (pl. xxxi. 8-12). The use of the hoe was probably to break up the clods after the plough had turned them up. Several remnants of the inscriptions are left, but are too mutilated for translation, excepting that over the rams, which perhaps reads:—

kherp rek su mek su her peru adebu thes

"Begin thou it, behold it is coming out,¹ and the ground is rising."

In the second row the flax is being pulled out of the ground and the roots trimmed. Behind this, bundles of the stems, with red capsules, are being laid together and tied.² In the next place a field of barley edged with weeds is being reaped with sickles. The ears are cut off short and the stalks left standing. After an interval we see six asses (pl. xxxi. 1-6) trampling the corn on a threshing-floor, in place of the more usual oxen. A fragment of inscription over them is probably part of the song of the threshers, of which we can read—

hî sep sen hî em hî

"Thresh, thresh, thresh again with threshing."

¹ I.e., the field is coming out of the water after the inundation.

² In the XVIIIth Dynasty tomb of Paheri, the seed capsules are torn off by means of a comb, but this is never shown in the earlier tombs.

At the end of the third row two men are uprooting long-bearded corn (pl. xxvii. 4). The inscription reads:—

uha shem, "pulling up the harvest."

II. *Potters.*

Beyond these are three potters, seated (pl. xxv.). The first is moulding tubes with the hand, the broader end of the tube resting on a smooth conical stand; the second is turning a wheel with his hand while he fashions a pot, the wheel being pivoted on a cylindrical pillar; the third has a table in front of him, upon which, according to Wilkinson's copy, a vase is being formed. Beyond are two assistants; one of them appears to be taking away a vase, the other kneading the clay. Over the last are signs forming the word *qed*, meaning "to make pottery." Above are two rows of pots. For the termination of this scene we have to look beyond that of the agricultural scene at the end of the second row (pl. xxvii. 2). Here are two blazing furnaces, undoubtedly kilns for firing pots. The kilns are circular; up to a certain height the walls are solid, excepting that an opening is left at the base on one side; the upper part, however, is built up higher, with a large opening on one side, and, in fact, the part that is thus built up is probably only a screen against the wind.³

III. *Making Bread, &c.*

Beyond the potters in the third row some figures, chiefly of women, are making bread, &c. (pl. xxv.). First is a man crouched, with his hands on a table in front of him; above is the inscription *art hesa*, "making dough." Next, a woman seated on the ground holds in her hands an elongated object; the inscription above may be read *men ât*, "a roll of wheat-dough(?)."

³ It is remarkable that the openings are both on one side.

After a gap we see loaves of bread on mats (pl. xxxi. 7), then a woman mixing or pounding grain called *art âget set ât*. The two kinds of *aget* called *set* and *at* are frequently found in lists of offerings. In the next picture "the white and green *shest*" are being prepared.

IV. Gardening Scene.

In the fourth row are the remains of a gardening scene. At the right-hand end is a tree, growing, surrounded by a ring of earth to retain the water, a stream of which is being poured upon its roots (pl. xxvii. 9). A gardener is carrying a yoke of water-pots on the right (pl. xxvii. 10). Beyond is a plot of ground (pl. xxv.) divided into squares by channels for irrigation, as is still done in Egypt. This is all coloured green. Above it is another green mass, probably intended to represent the vegetation growing on the plot; in this can be distinguished some tall bushes. A gardener is kneeling, putting in or taking out a plant; two others are emptying their water-jars upon the plot, and two behind them carry bowls of water. Here is an interesting example of drawing without perspective: we have already noted that the vegetation is placed above the figure of the plot; we further see that the feet of the gardeners stand on the border line between the plot and the vegetation. According to the Egyptian notions this is quite logical, for their artists could not better represent the fact that the feet were upon the surface of the ground beneath the vegetation. Above the heads of the figures are heaps of fruit, &c., on mats and in baskets, and a row of plants in pots.

Beyond is a trellised vine, and two men gathering bunches of grapes into baskets. Some very small chips of painting show leaves and fruits of the cucumber, but beyond the scrap of a flower shown in the plate, below the

stand of a vase,¹ they do not admit of reproduction.

Further on is a group of five men pressing the juice from the grapes (pl. xxxi. 7): the latter have been put into a great straining bag, which is being energetically twisted by means of poles put through the looped ends; four men twist the poles, while another places himself horizontally between them to push them apart, and so keep the bag at a full stretch. The tub into which the juice should fall is broken away. Behind the group are jars, no doubt full of liquid.²

Another method by which the juice was extracted from the grapes is shown in the next row above (pl. xxvii. 2), after the bread-making scene. A horizontal pole is placed upon supports over a wine-press, and men clinging to the pole tread the grapes.

V. Spinning and Weaving.

At the outer end of Rows 5 and 6 are the scenes of spinning and weaving (pl. xxvi.). Towards the left-hand end we see a woman seated on the ground, with a bowl and lump of fibre before her. Probably she took a handful of the fibre and laid it in the bowl in front of her; when well moistened, she drew it out in her hands, and softened it by chewing. After this had been done sufficiently, and perhaps a loosely compacted twine had been produced, it was laid in the second bowl to keep damp, while the standing figure spun it into a firm thread with her spindle. We see the seated figure stretching out her two hands in front of her face, with a thread between them held in her mouth. The thread seems to end in the first bowl; but there is certainly also a line from one bowl to the other. From the second bowl the line passes

¹ Pl. xxvii. 7; the fragments referred to are in the British Museum.

² Cf. *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xii.

to the left hand of the standing figure and thence down to the spindle, which is twisted on the right thigh. The right leg is bent with a natural gesture by raising the foot. One of the spinners stands apparently on a raised platform.¹

The following groups are very similar. At the right-hand end rope-making seems to be represented, no doubt with palm-fibre. At the top are some looped ropes, pegged out, it may be to dry. A woman, bending over, has a rope passed round her knees; the fracture has carried away the rest of the group, which probably showed another figure forcibly twisting the rope.²

In the sixth row weaving is represented. A woman is seated at a horizontal loom, the working of which is not easy to understand. Behind her were two women seated, gathering together threads into a band from a tray of twelve divisions, each containing a ball (?) of material. Under the end of the horizontal loom was a vase, and apparently a conical-pointed cake. At the extreme right hand is a fragment of an inscription—*sekh*et, "weaving."

There are only two fragments of the wall-painting that can be placed on the inner half of the wall. The position of one, pl. xxix. 1, is certain. Men are probably filling ornamental jars with condiments, and levelling the contents.³ The second fragment, pl. xxvii. 1, shows portions of two rows; the lower one seems to be the upper portion of the scene last mentioned, and above are two women carrying shallow baskets, apparently in a field of corn. This fragment should perhaps be placed among the agricultural scenes.

This closes the series representing the occupations. The main group on the wall consists of the spectators, namely, Tehutihetep with a row of his female relatives, all standing. Of Tehutihetep himself only the point of the tunic is visible, and a fragment of his titles at the top in short columns ending in a horizontal line. Immediately in front of him is his wife, "priestess of Hathor, Hathorhetep," holding a fly-flap in her left hand. The right hand hangs down the side. She wears a fillet round her head, tied at the back, with a papyrus flower at the knot, one long end and one short falling down behind. Next is a mutilated figure of a lady, very similar to the last, with one arm down the side, the other raised to the breast and apparently holding a fly-flap (pl. xxviii. 3, 4).

The rest of these figures are somewhat smaller (pl. xxix. 2). The third has both arms down the sides; the fourth has the right arm down the side, the left bent up to the breast, but the hand open and empty; the fifth has both arms down the sides.

In the representation of the next three figures there are notable changes (pl. xxix. 2 and frontispiece). On their breasts they wear pectorals, the left arm is raised holding a lotus flower, the hair is gathered on to the right side of the head into the lock signifying youth, and two of them (the seventh and eighth) show a remarkable chaplet of lotus flowers, the first white, the second blue; the sixth doubtless wore a similar chaplet; and it is most probable that the ninth, the much mutilated figure beyond, should be counted in the same group, since her left arm is raised.

Last of all are two figures with the arms down. Remains of the ordinary female wig may still be seen on one of them (pl. xxx).

Thus we appear to have four groups of the female relations, and it may be said at once that the inscriptions confirm the evidence of the pictures. The first two represent the wife

¹ As at Beni Hasan (Part II., pls. iv. and xiii.).

² Cf. Dümichen, *Resultate*, pl. viii. Virey, *Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pl. xiii., for scenes of rope-making.

³ With the same action as in *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xii. and xxix. (fourth row to the left of doorway).

Hathorhetep, and presumably the mother, Sat-kheper-ka, of Tehutihetep. Next, the third to the fifth are adult figures, not easy to identify. Then follow evidently four daughters (the sixth to the ninth), and presumably two sisters of Tehutihetep (the tenth and eleventh).

As to the inscriptions, that above the first figure may be restored :—



*hemt-ef mert-ef hen neter Het-heru
mert-es nebt per Het-heru-hetep*

“His wife whom he loves, the priestess
of Hathor whom she loves, the lady
of the house, Hathor-hetep.”

For the fifth and sixth we fortunately have the inscription on a fragment of sculpture in the museum of Gizeh, identified as from this tomb by Mr. Fraser. His copy is as follows :—



(1) *Sat-ef net khet-ef mert-ef* (2) *net set ab-ef
arert hesest* (3) *-ef em khert heru* (4) *ent ra
nebt Neb-Unut* (5) *ankhet mert-ef arert* (6) *hesest-
ef em khert heru* (7) *ent ra nebt Zehutihetep*

“(1) His daughter of his body, his beloved one (2) of
the place of his heart, who does that which he
praises (3) in that which belongs to the day (4)
of every day (i.e. wins his praise daily), Nub-Unut.
(5) The *Ankhet*, his beloved one, (6) who wins
his praise (7) daily (as before), Tehutihetep.”

The original position of this block is quite
certain. The daughter Nub-Unut is the only

one represented elsewhere in the tomb; she
was therefore the favourite and the eldest, and
would naturally be put first among the
daughters. The inscription of the *Ankhet*-lady,
whatever the meaning of the Egyptian word
may be,¹ must therefore be applied to the fifth
figure; and the third and fourth are doubtless
of similar rank or relationship. Possibly that
group represents the favourite concubines of
Tehutihetep.


The inscriptions above figures Nos. 7 and 8
are partly preserved. They read as follows :—

No. 8. (1) [*Sat-ef net khet-ef*] *mert-ef* (2) *net set
ab-ef arert hesest-* (3) *ef ra nebt Sat-hez-hetep*

No. 7. (4) *Sat-ef net khet-ef mert-ef* (5) *net set
ab-ef arert hesest-* (6) *ef ra nebt Sat-kheper-ka*

No. 8. (1) his daughter of his body, his beloved one
of the place of his heart, who wins his praise every
day, Sat-hez-hetep.

No. 7. (4) his daughter of his body, his beloved one
of the place of his heart, who wins his praise every
day, Sat-kheper-ka.

For the last two figures we have a fragment
of an inscription over No. 11. The fragment,
pl. xxx. 1, almost certainly belongs here,
although the  is written in the opposite
direction to the *mer-ef* (*sic*) below. Probably
the inscription should be read *sen[t] ef.....mert
ef*, “his (i.e. Tehutihetep’s) sister who
loves him.”

Beyond these groups there are female atten-
dants, facing them, in two rows. In the upper
row is a woman holding a revolving fan.² The
action of her left arm is uncertain; probably
she assists in upholding the box which is over
her shoulder. This must also be supported by
the next figure, who holds down in her right
hand a boomerang-shaped instrument, which
probably must be interpreted as a pair of cas-
tanets. The first of these figures seems to be

¹ See above, p. 8.

² Cf. *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xii., behind the harpers on
the left of the false door.

the *Athy*¹ Sat-hez-hetep. Of the second figure only a fragment of the name remains, A..... Two other figures are shown in the lower row. One bears a fly-flap, the feathers of which are coloured blue, and a mirror in its case; she seems to be the *menât*, "nurse." The second carries an instrument terminating in a long staff. Whether or no there were more figures behind these groups, it is impossible to say.

In the bottom row we note that the figures at the inner end face down the tomb, and all of these represent personal attendants on Tehutihetep. Beyond the middle the figures face the other way, and consist of Tehutihetep's sons and the officers of his estates; the female members of the family and their attendants having been represented above.

First there are the three sons of Tehutihetep—Shemsu-em-khau-ef, Usertsen-ankh, and Nehera. Then there is a great lacuna, representing space for ten or twelve figures. Twelve figures follow, and there is a space for two more at the end, so there must have been twenty-five figures in all behind the sons.

The inscription belonging to the first is lost; that in front of the second is *enti em sert* (?), "He who is in the position of a *ser* or magistrate."

The third is the *mer aht*, "superintendent of the fields."

The fourth, the *mer sâht Sep sa Zehutihetep ar en Uaz-kau-es*, "superintendent of the treasury, Sep's son Tehutihetep, born of Uaz-kau-es."

The fifth, the *mer khenti Nekht ar en Nekht*, "superintendent of the bakers, Nekht, born of Nekht."

The sixth is the *mer shent Nekht ar en Henu*,

"superintendent of the, Nekht, born of Henu."

The seventh, the *mer khent*, "superintendent of the"

The eighth, the *mer per en hesept Sep sa Nehera*, "steward of the nome, Sep's son Nehera."

The ninth, the *[mer] per en hesept Aha sa Aha*, "steward of the nome, Aha's son Aha."

The tenth, the *mer kau Shedes sa Sep*, "superintendent of the oxen, Shedes' son Sep."

The eleventh is the *mer âut Aha-nekht*, "superintendent of the goats, Aha-nekht."

The inscription over the heads of these officers reads:—

[*maa ân ânu-sen ne tenu renpet*] *henâ ânu-sen ne khert heru net râ neb âp ne seten ne zet zet â[n hâ kherp nesti sab-]âd-mer mer qemâu âri pe neb* [*Zehutihetep neb âmakh*]

"[Seeing the bringing of their offerings of each year], together with the offerings of each day, counted to the king for ever and ever by [the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, the *sab-]ad-mer*, the superintendent of the South, he who belongs to every town [Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth]."

At the left-hand end is a man bearing a staff, a sheaf of arrows, and a long bow. Behind him four men carry the sedan-chair, beneath which runs the little hound named Ankhu. Next is the *sâhu kefa âb*, named *Nefera ar en Zehutihetep*, "Nefera, born of Tehutihetep." He carries a long staff, and some object suggesting a seal or branding instrument. The next man bears a box, and behind him another carries a huge shield and battle-axe. Then a man with a long tunic and cape over his shoulders carries another battle-axe of a different form. He is the *sâhu kefa âb, Nekht-nekhen mes en Âpâ*, "Nekht-nekhen, born of Âpâ." Behind him are two other *sâhu kefa âb*. The first, named *Khnemâ mes en Zehutihetep*, "Khnama, born of Tehutihetep," carries a long staff and sandals. The


¹ This title, *Athy*, is probably the same as *atu*, which occurs in the inscriptions of Una and in tablets of the Middle Kingdom, applied to male attendants of the king and prince, and probably meaning a bearer of a sedan-chair.

second is named Nekhta, and carries a spear and a bow.

There is another gap here, sufficient for five or six figures. Then come three attendants with long tunics, and at the inner end of the wall is a scribe carrying two rolls of papyrus. He is the *ân hen kherp katu nebt*, "scribe of the box, superintendent of all the works," and is named "Nekhta's son Sepa, born of Sepa."

6. SHRINE. PL. XXXII.-XXXIV.



INNER WALL, pl. xxxiii. (Key Plan, x).

The paintings and inscriptions upon this wall are incised and delicately coloured. On the left is represented Tehutihetep standing, clothed with a small skirt and wearing sandals. He holds in his right hand the  baton of office, and in his left hand a staff. Hanging from his neck is a collar, attached to which is an elaborate pectoral (mutilated).

Above him is an inscription in eight lines (six vertical and two horizontal), reading:—

zed-ef medu kher te-ef ren per-nef kient ef en uru âau hesut-â apten kher tef-â kher neter-â det-ef sa em her en net ef her tep âa en Unt em seti¹ en utet su ti (?) pu en tef-[â] pen (?) erdenef u[â] em her net-ef hâ kherp nesti ur dua her tep âa en Unt Kay sa Zehutihetep

"He speaks before his father name of him from whom he came, are not very great these my praises before my father and before my god, that he should place a son as the chief of his town (and) Great Chief of the Hare nome, as the successor of him who begat him, the son of the old age of this my father, he placed me as chief of his city, the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, great of five,² Great Chief of the Hare nome, Kay's son Tehutihetep."

¹  masc. substantive derived from , meaning a person holding a place. The inscription is difficult to translate.

² It will be recollected that these two titles are those of the high priest of Thoth in the Hare nome.

On the right is represented a standing figure of Tehutihetep's father Kay, clothed with an elaborate pointed skirt, and wearing sandals. In his right hand he holds a staff, and in his left a leathern thong (?). A pectoral in the shape of a panther's head, with two loops above and a tassel below, is suspended from his neck by a long variegated band. Above him is the inscription reading as follows:—

zed medu rekht ân khu hâ entimen kh am maa-â nen ar-en nâ neb-â âs-â nen ar-en nâ neter-â erdet-ef sa-â em her net-ef her tep âa en Unt em seti³ en ar uâ hâ kha Usertsen mer henu neter Neherâ sa Kay

"Speech: O living mortals! rejoice who is excellent amongst them. When I see these things which my lord has done for me, and when I reckon those things which my god has done for me, in that he placed my son as chief of his city and Great Chief of the Hare nome, as successor of him who made me (the) *ha*-prince of the *kha* pyramid-city of Usertsen I. (?), superintendent of the priests, Nehera's son Kay."

LEFT AND RIGHT-HAND WALLS, pls. xxxii., xxxiv. (Key Plan, w, y).

The scenes and inscriptions on the two sides of the shrine are almost identical; both are considerably mutilated, but the one helps to complete the other, and we shall therefore treat them together. It will be observed that the right half of the inner wall is devoted to Kay, and the left to Tehutihetep. It seems to be the same with the side walls. The right-hand wall bears what is probably a figure of Kay, identifiable by the fragment of the title mentioning the pyramid-city of Usertsen. On the left-hand wall there can be no question that Tehutihetep is represented, though his name and titles are destroyed.

On each wall the principal personage is seated with an altar before him and lists of offerings above. The figures are arranged in five rows.

³ *Vide note supra.*

The two top rows were devoted to representations of the ceremonies, which may be compared with those in the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan.¹

Row 1 is divided into two compartments. In the first we can trace the *sem*-priest, and behind him a lector named Heru-amen-anekh.(?) In the next compartment are three *kherheb* priests, kneeling, and above them the inscription: *se-akh an kher-heb asha*, "singing services by the ordinary lectors." At the end is another priest, standing, and above him the inscription: *zed medu ant red an kher heb*, "speech: lifting the foot by the lector."

Row 2 is divided into five compartments:—

- 1st. A man kneeling, washing a table.
- 2nd. *Det qebeh*, "giving water."
- 3rd. *Seth*, "washing" the tray.
- 4th. *Se-neter*, "incense," and fire.
- 5th. *Zed medu kher heb*, "reading by the lector."

Rows 3 and 4. Cutting up oxen and bringing offerings. In the third row of the right-hand wall there is a good example of *pedet des*, "sharpening the flint knife." In the fourth row of the same wall, over the ox, is *de-na afui*

ne hat, "give me two pieces of flesh first," to which the man replies: *ary-a hest-ek*, "I am doing as you will." In the corresponding row of the left-hand wall are two inscriptions: (1) *maâ en ka-ef*, "offering to his *ka*," and (2) *de nenshem*, "give a *nenshem* joint."

Row 5. Servants bringing offerings of flesh, fowl, fruits, &c. The inscriptions over these rows on the two walls are mutilated, but, as they are identical, we can restore the text from the two copies.

*sekhept sethept er hat uzhu anent em nut-ef em
heseput-ef ent qemâu meh en ka en er-pâ hâ semer
uâti en merut est ab seten hâ kherp nesti ur det
Kay sa Zehutihetep neb amakh*

"Bringing to the altar choice viands, which are brought from his towns and his estates of the South and North to the *ka* of the *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince, the beloved confidential friend, the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, great of five, Kay's son Tehutihetep, possessing the reward of worth."

On the left-hand wall we have also three smaller inscriptions:—

- (1) *maâ ne ka-ef*, "offering to his *ka*."
- (2) *uâb [ne ka ne] hâ kherp nesti Zehutihetep*, "pure offerings [for the *ka* of] the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, Tehutihetep."
- (3) *maâ ne kau-ef*, "offering to his *kas*" (plural).

¹ *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xvii., cp. also pl. xxxv.

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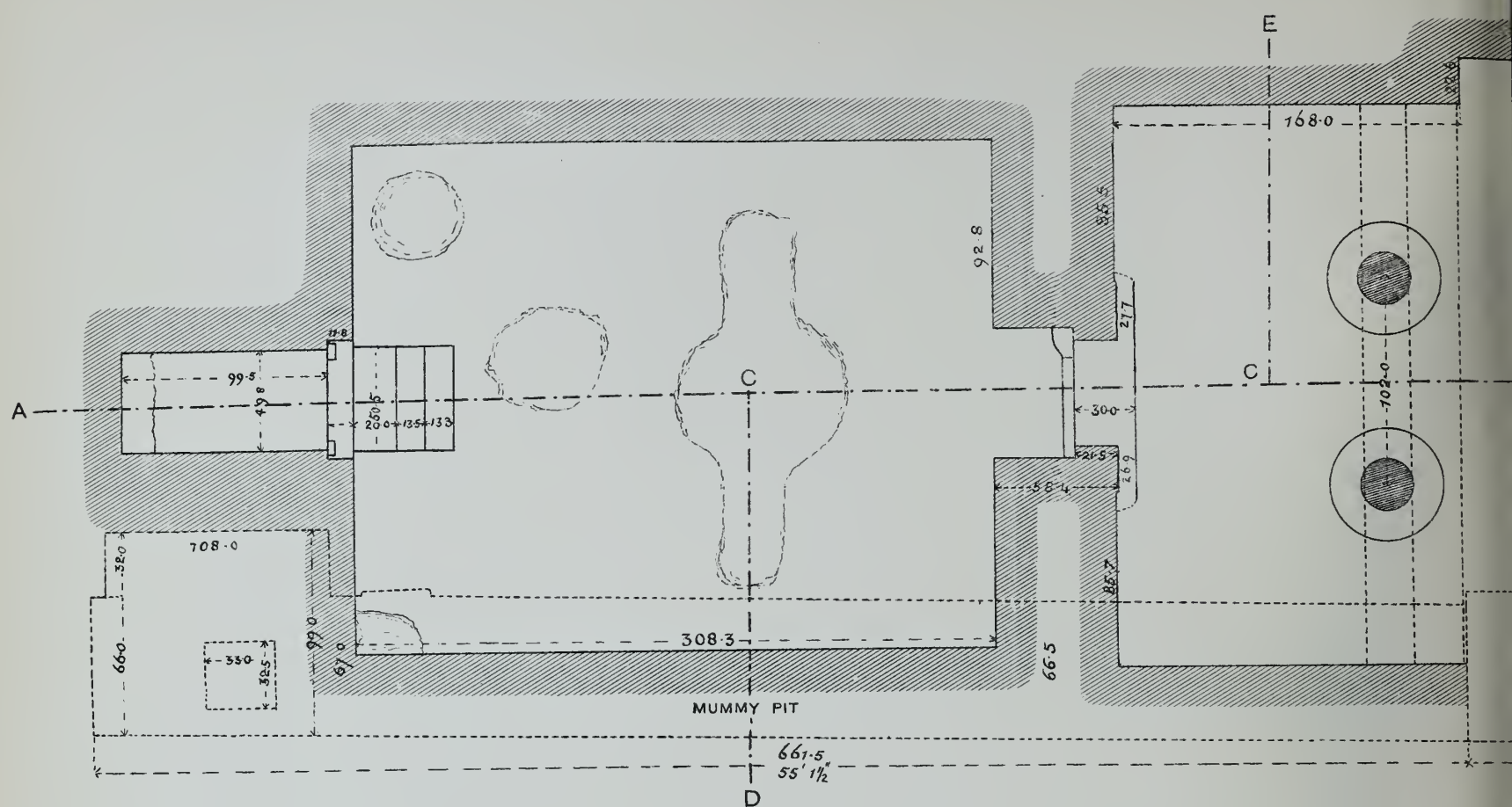
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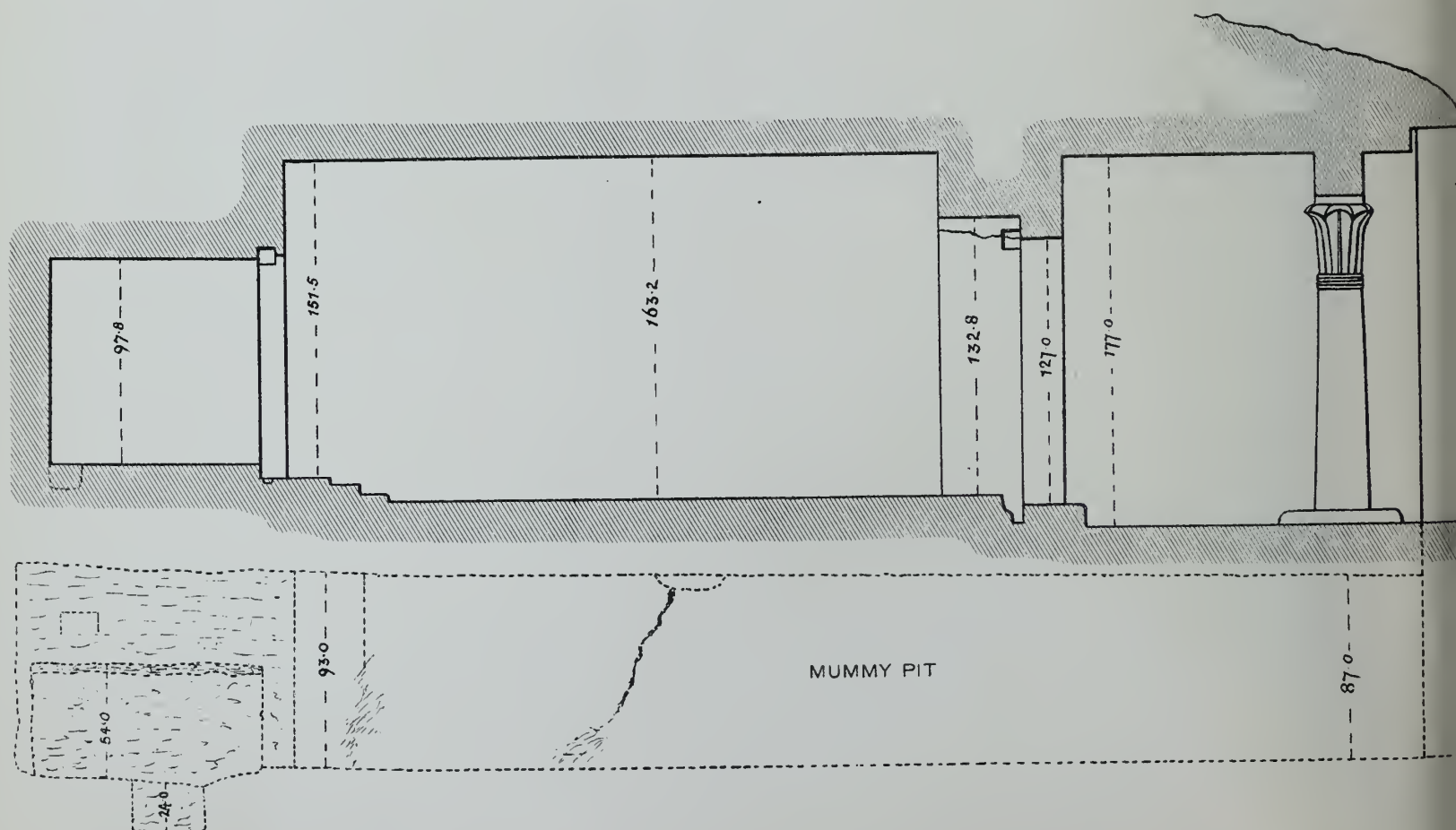
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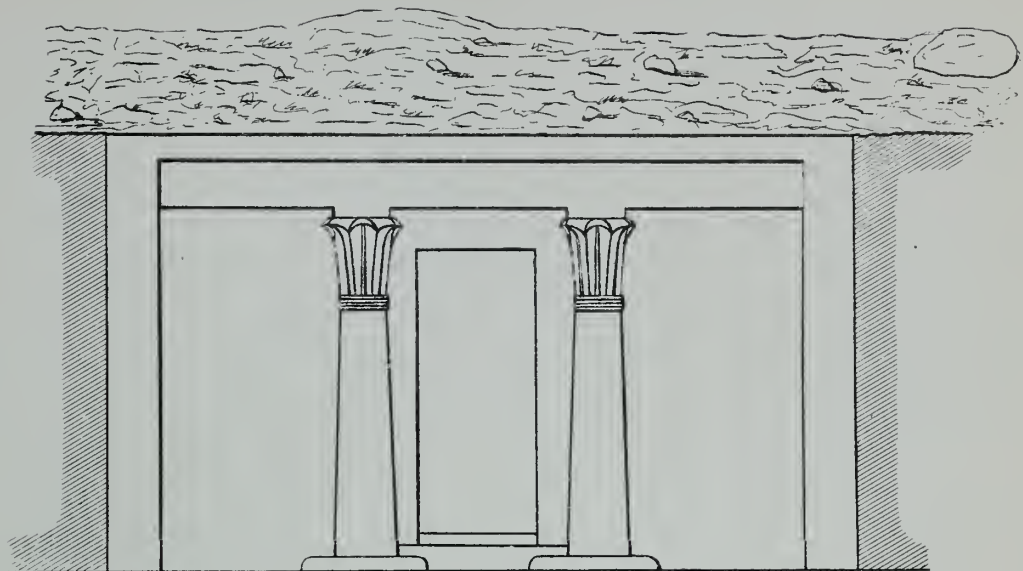
¹ The initials are those of Messrs. P. E. NEWBERRY, M. W. BLACKDEN, G. W. FRASER, and HOWARD CARTER.



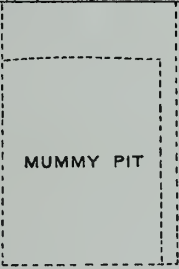
PLAN OF TOMB AND MUMMY PIT (RESTORED).



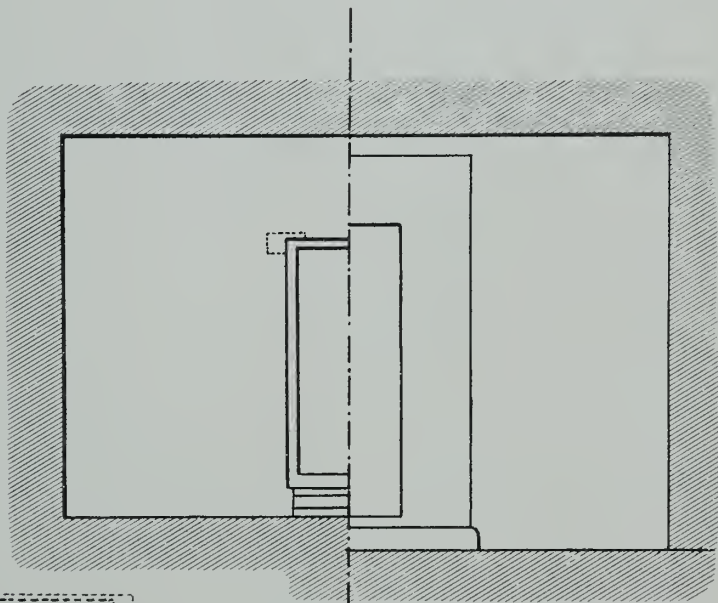
SECTIONAL ELEVATION ON A.B. (RESTORED).



FRONT ELEVATION (RESTORED)



MUMMY PIT

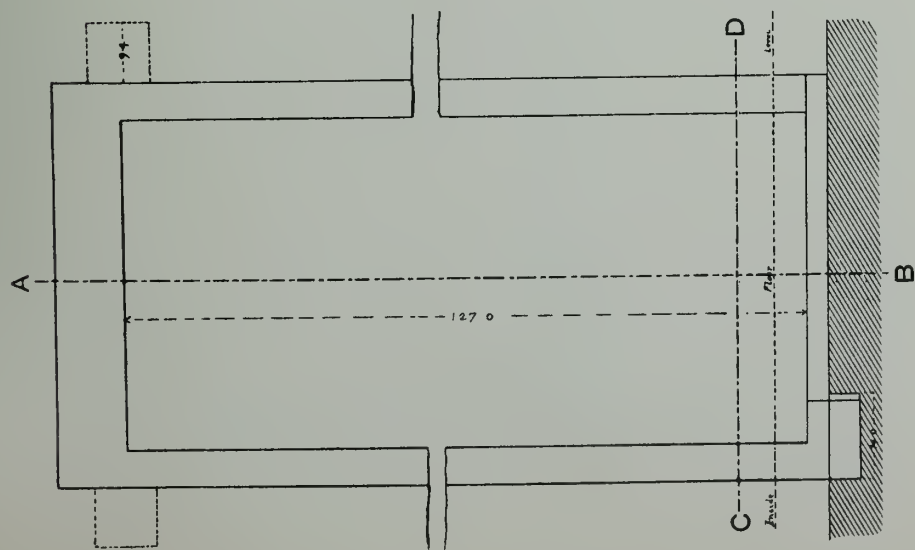


CROSS SECTION ON C.D. AND C.E.

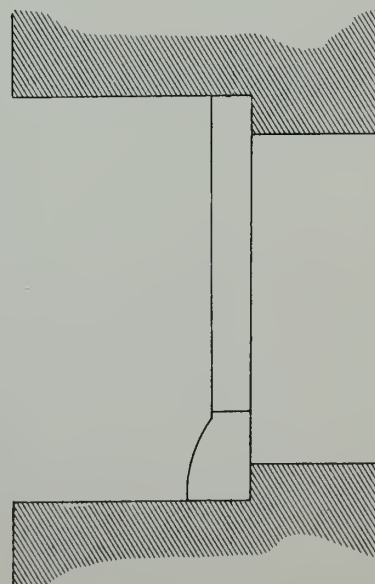


MUMMY PIT

E. Willoughby Fraser
August 1892

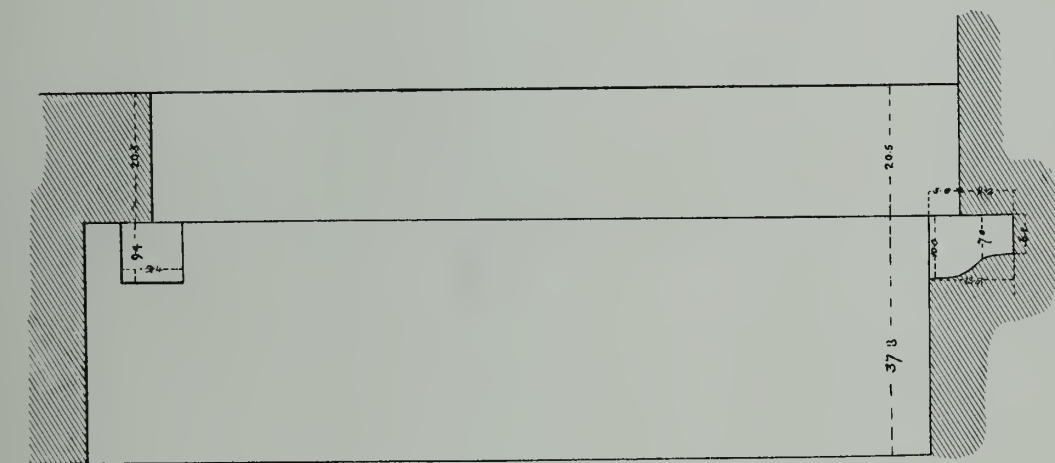


ELEVATION LOOKING NORTH.

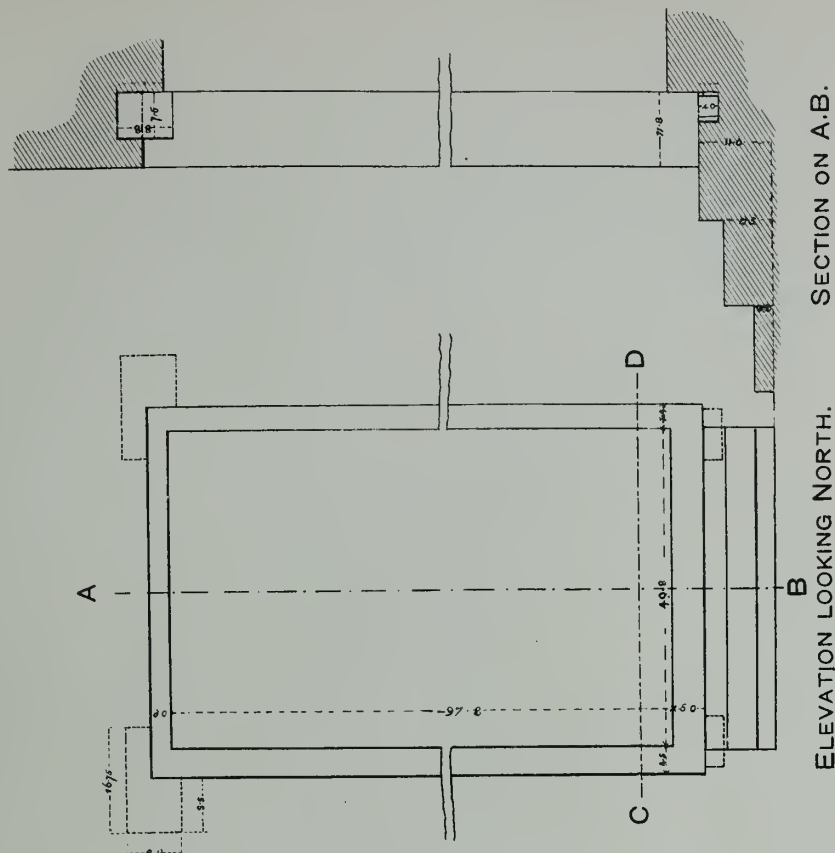


PLAN ON C.D.

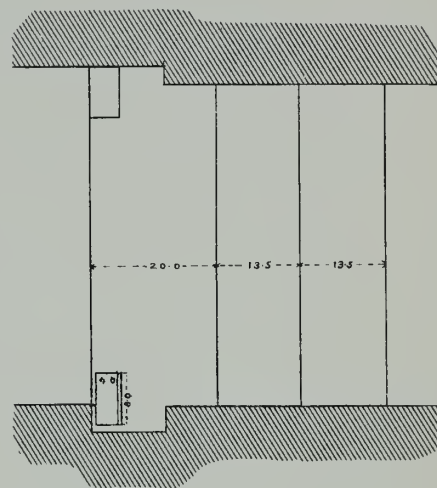
MAIN DOORWAY.



SECTION ON A.B.



ELEVATION LOOKING NORTH.



PLAN ON C.D.

DOORWAY TO SHRINE.

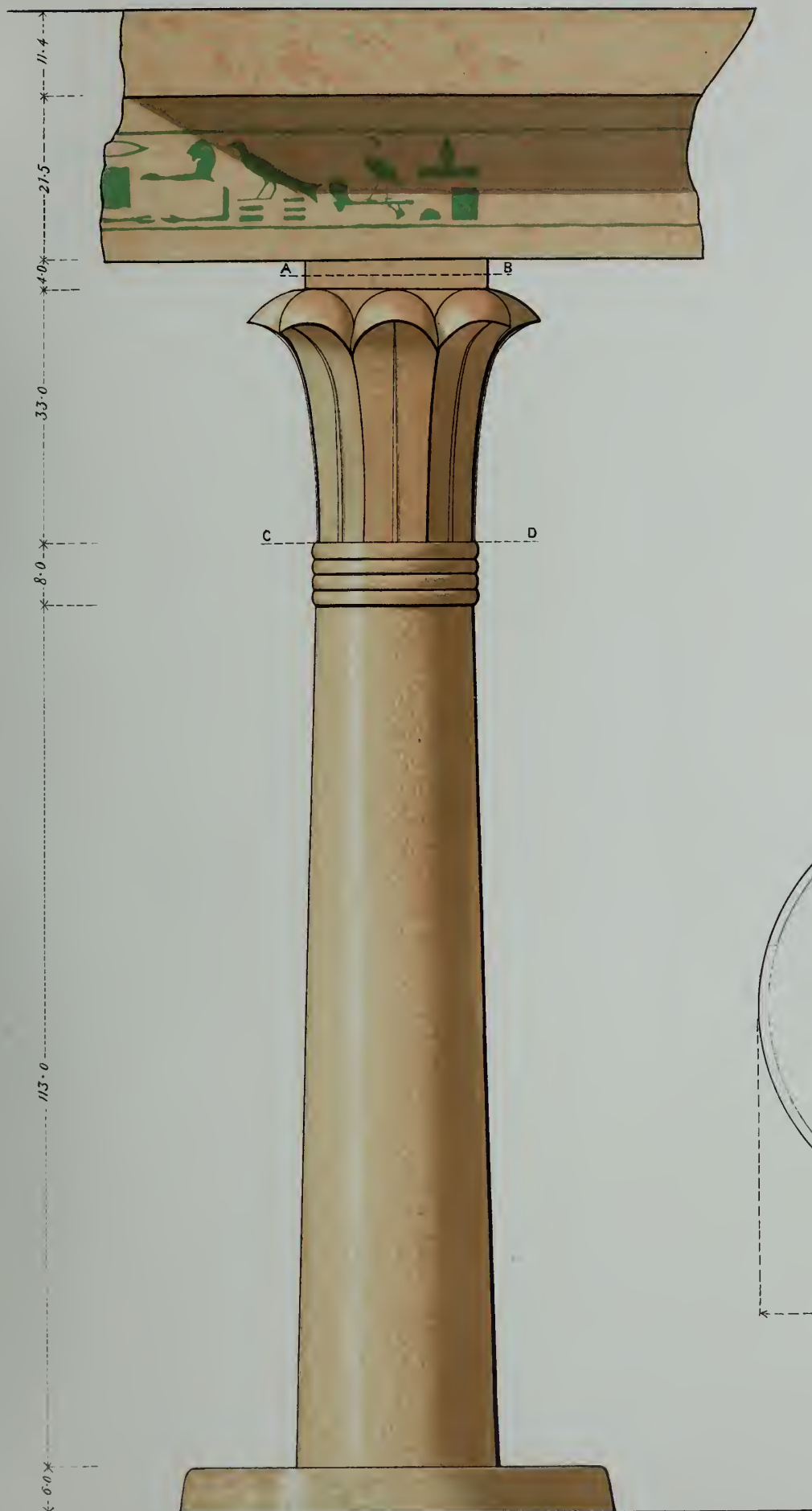
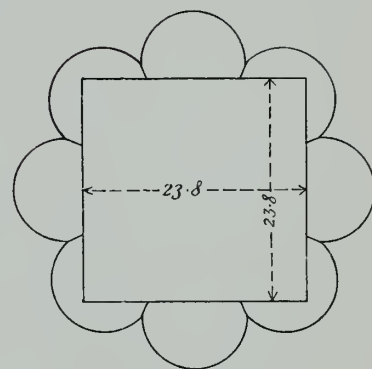


FIG. 1.

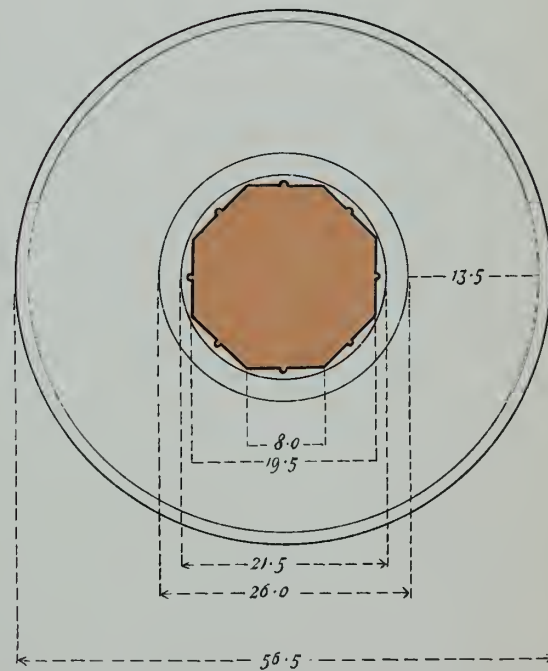
DETAILS OF COLUMN. (RESTORED)

FIG. 2.



SECTION ON A B

FIG. 3.



SECTION ON C D



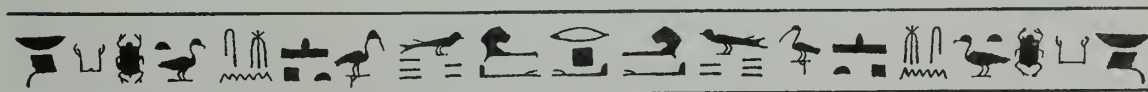
LEFT HAND JAMB.

RIGHT HAND JAMB.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE JAMBS.

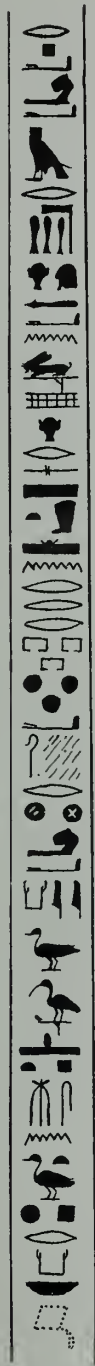


FRONT.



BACK.

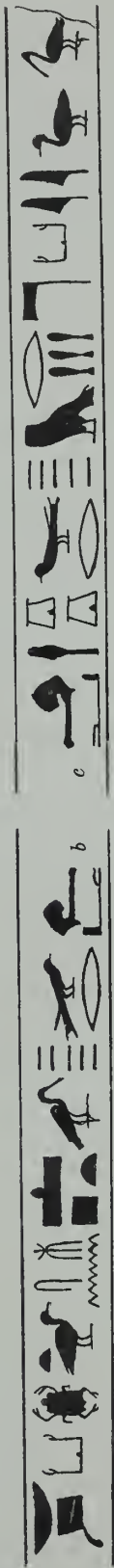
INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ARCHITRAVE (RESTORED).



SHRINE (C).



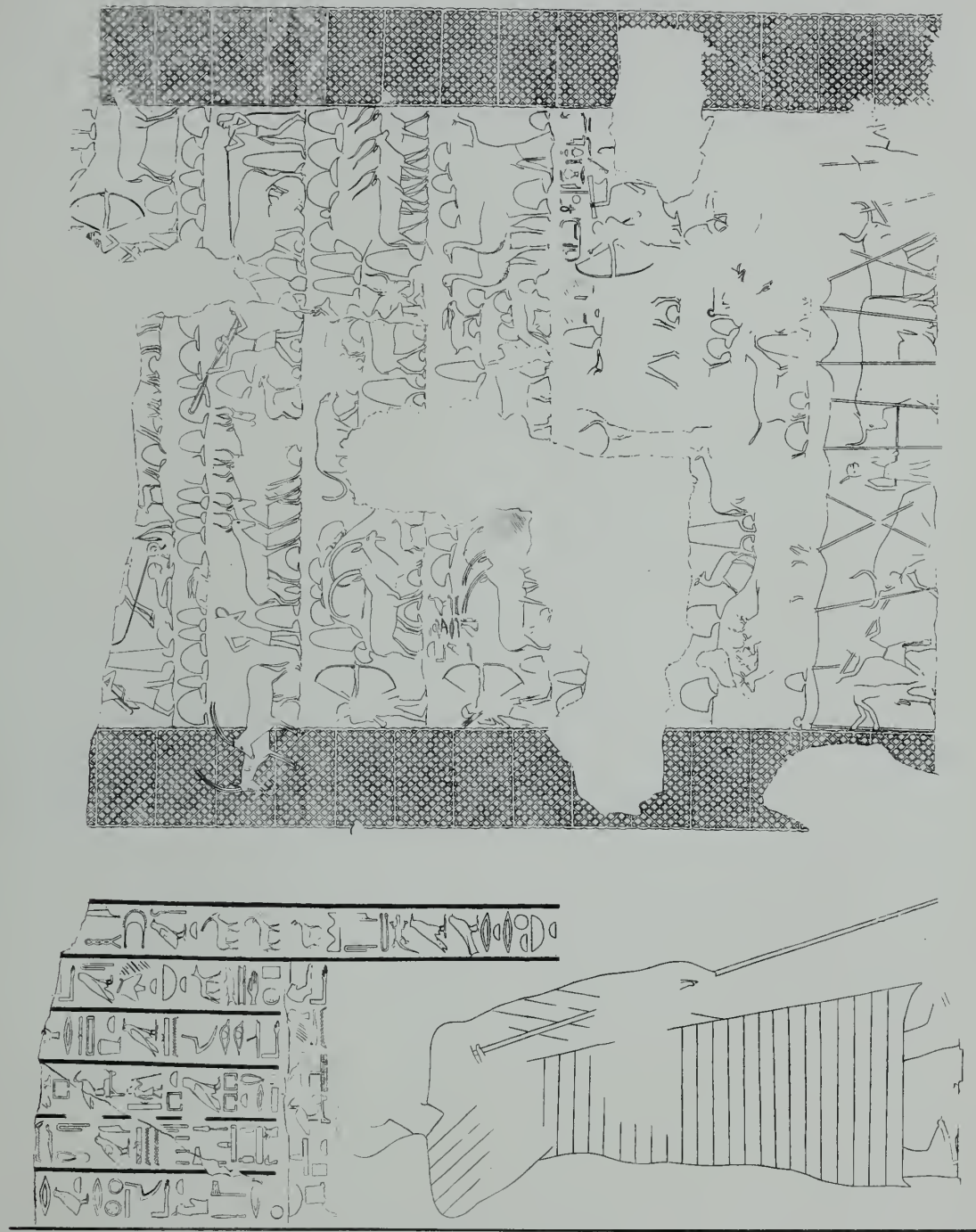
INNER CHAMBER (B).



OUTER CHAMBER (A).

CEILING INSCRIPTIONS.

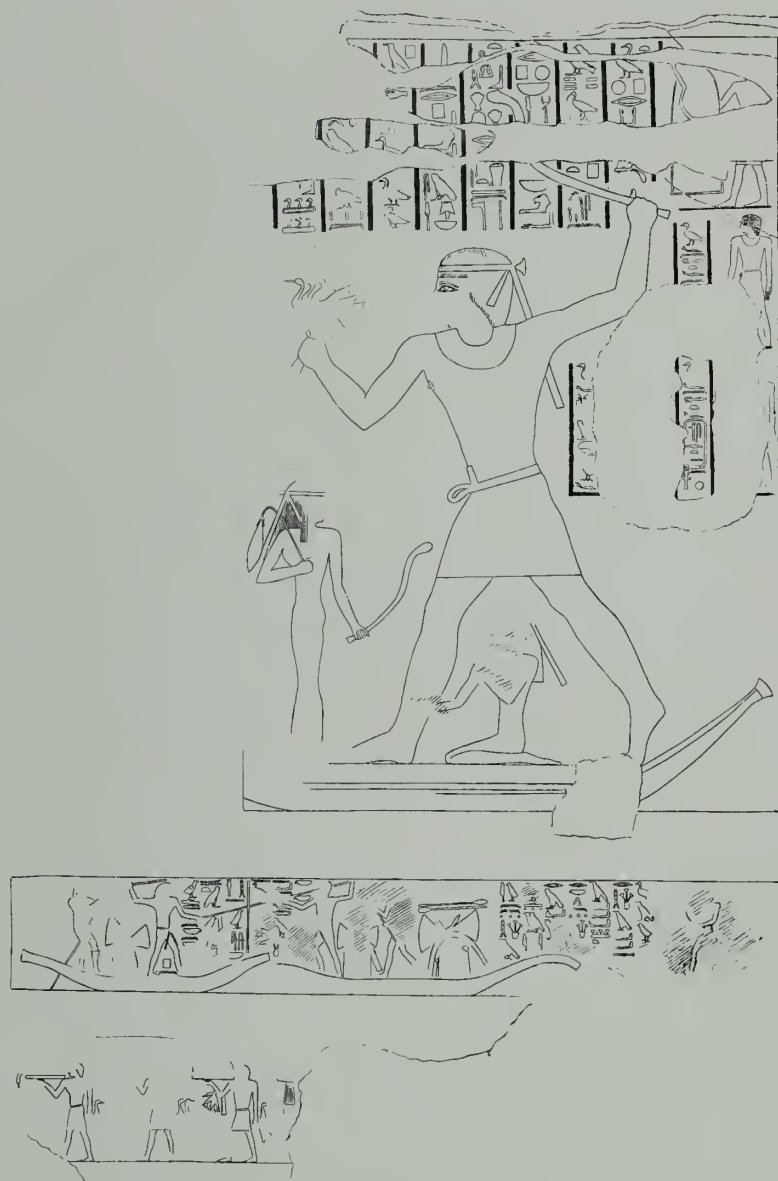
Hand copy, P. E. N.



OUTER CHAMBER.
RIGHT HAND WALL.

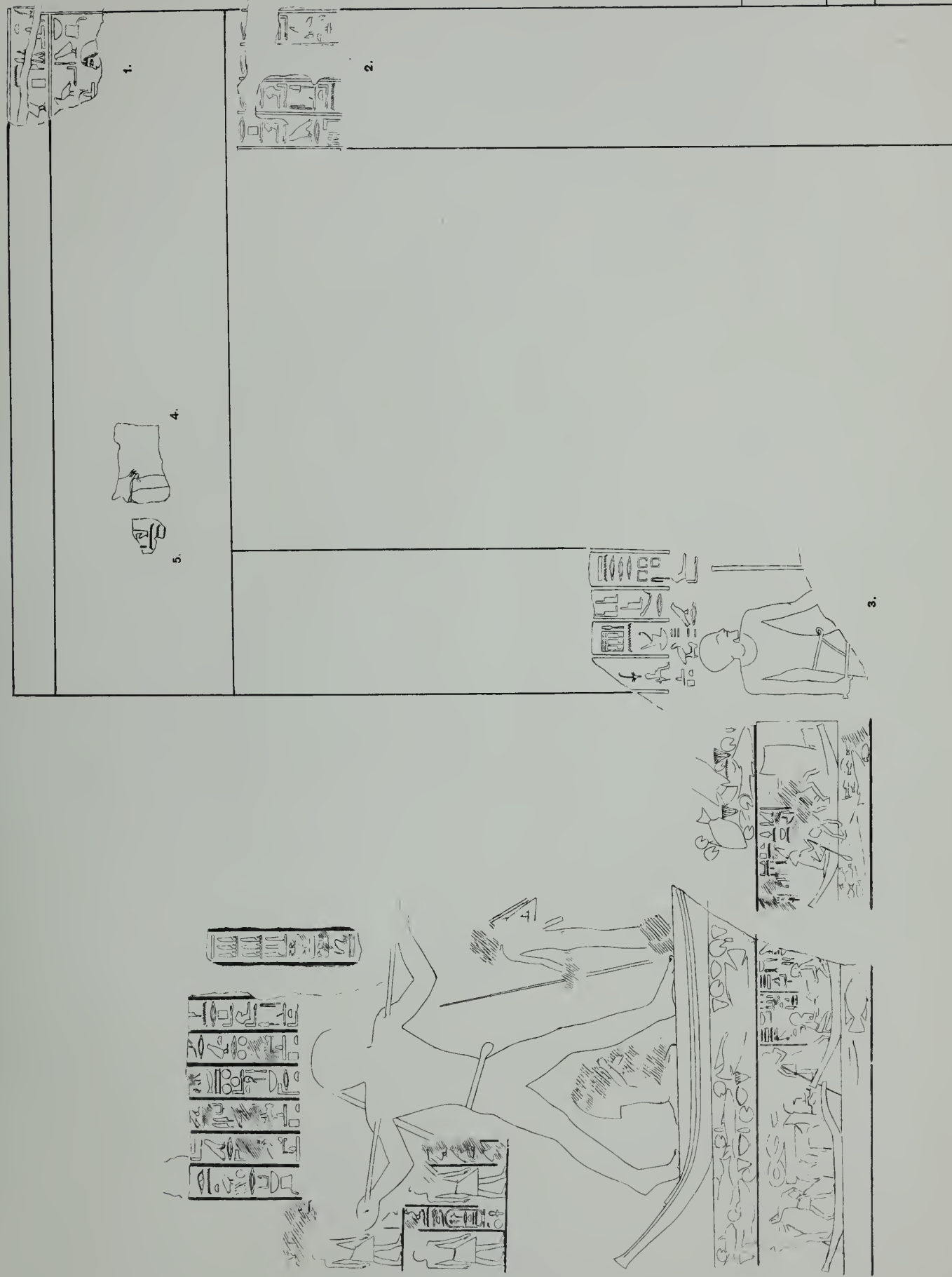


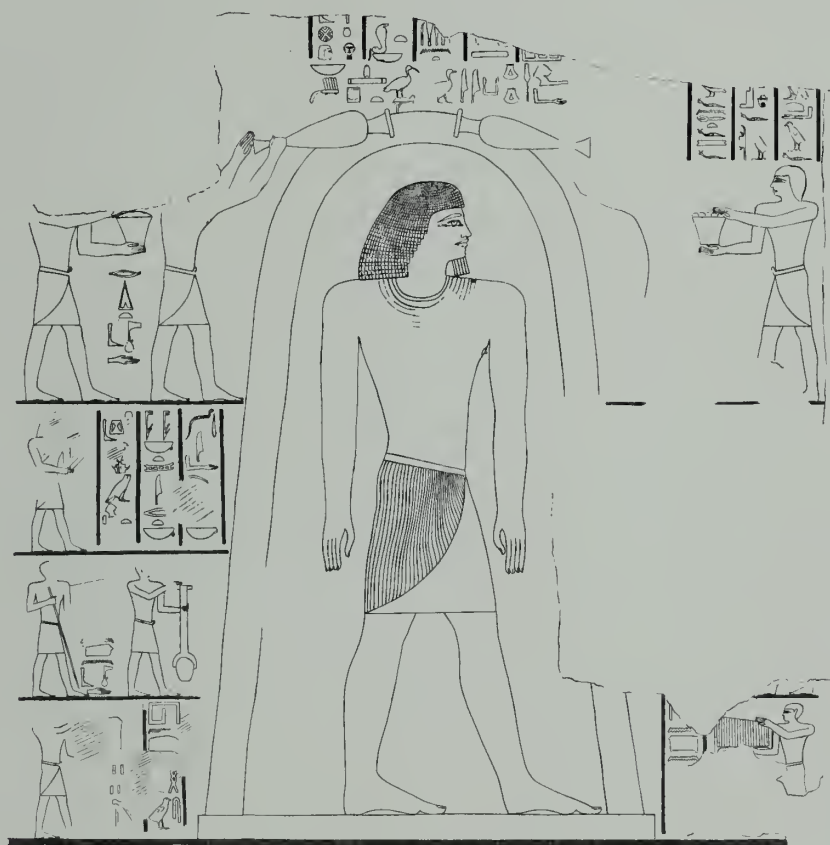
KHEKER ORNAMENT



OUTER CHAMBER.
INNER WALL (RIGHT SIDE).

Scale 1: 20.





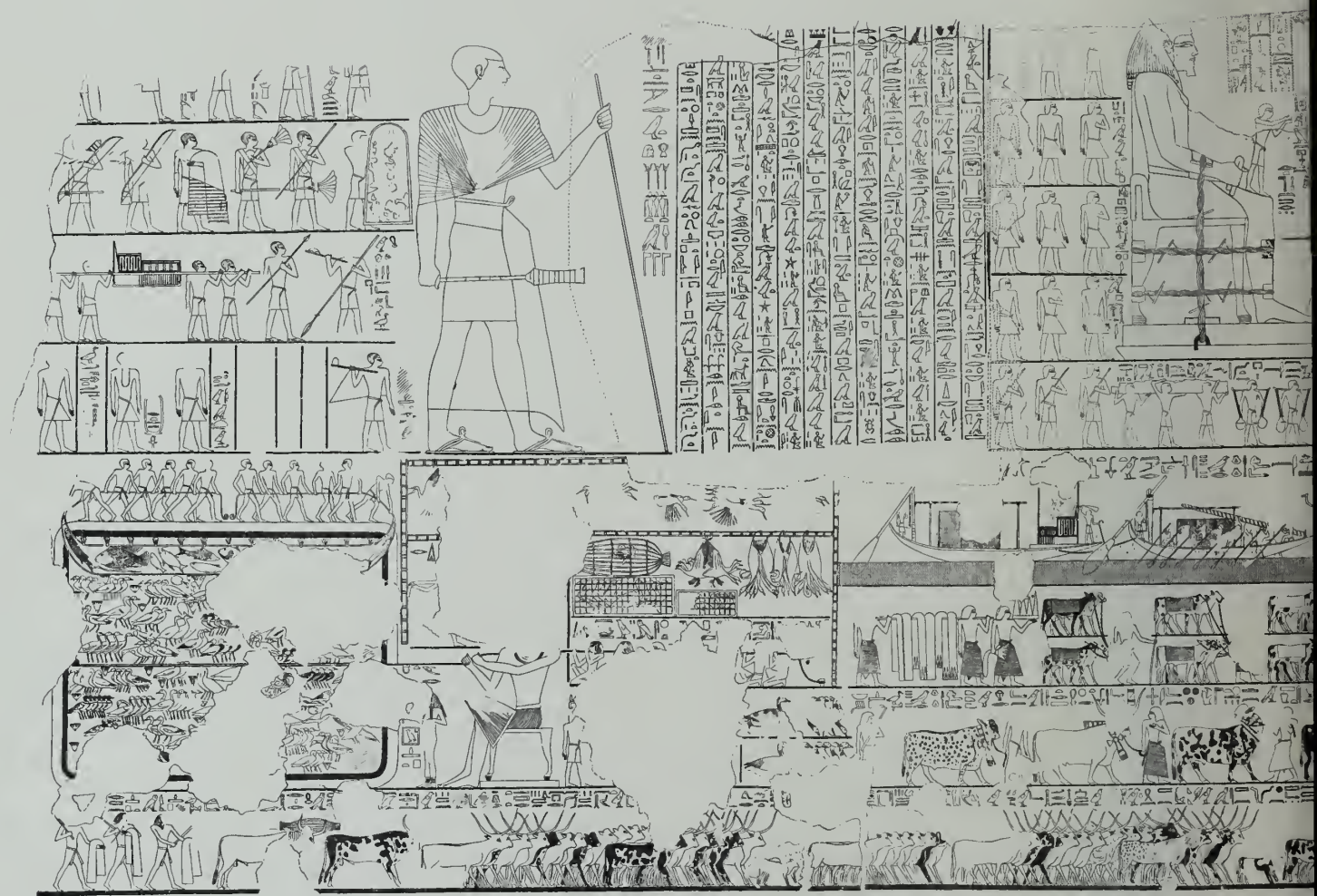
INNER CHAMBER.
OUTER WALL (RIGHT SIDE).



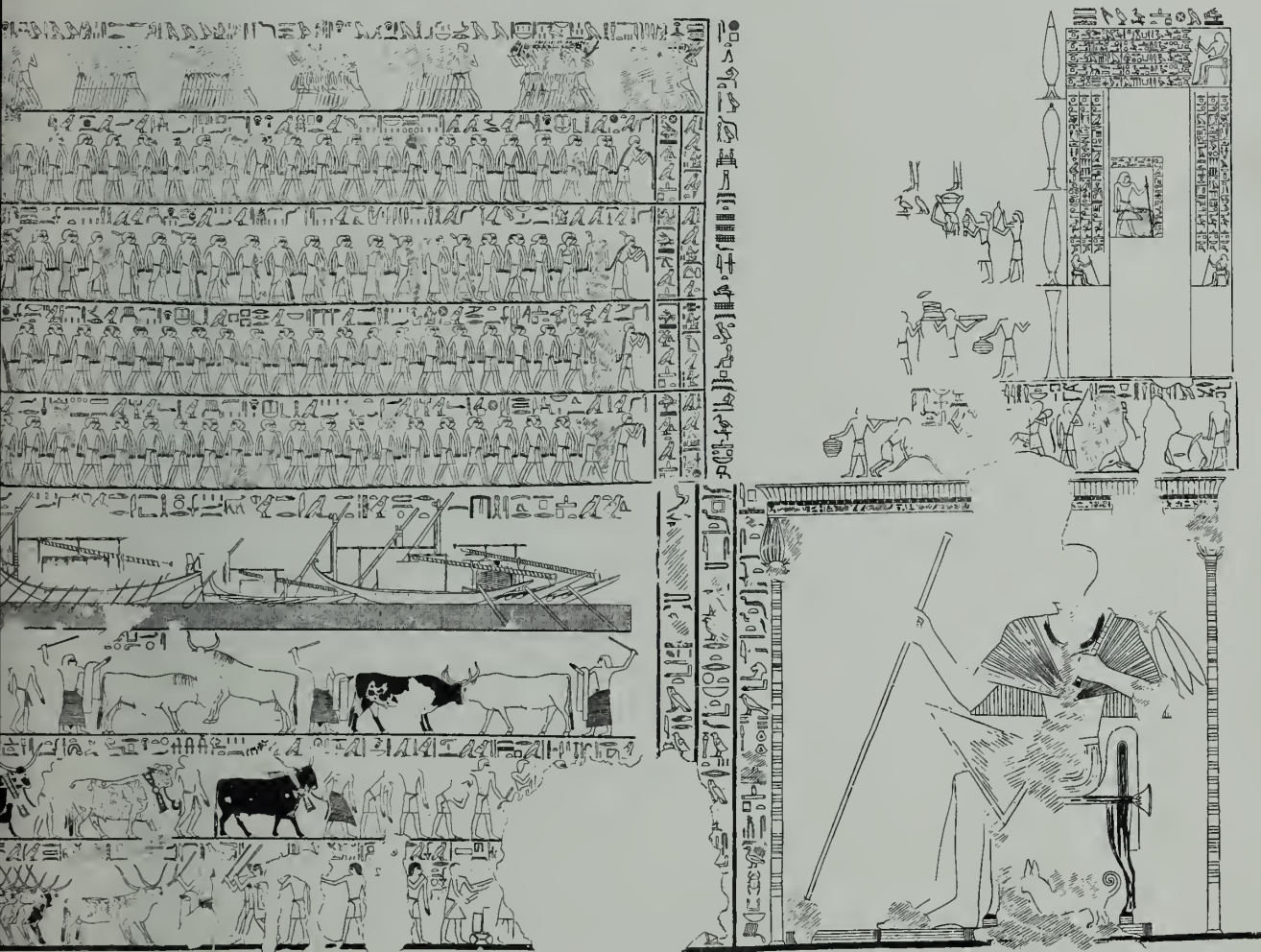
INNER CHAMBER.
OUTER WALL (LEFT SIDE).

EL BERSHEH.

TOMB No

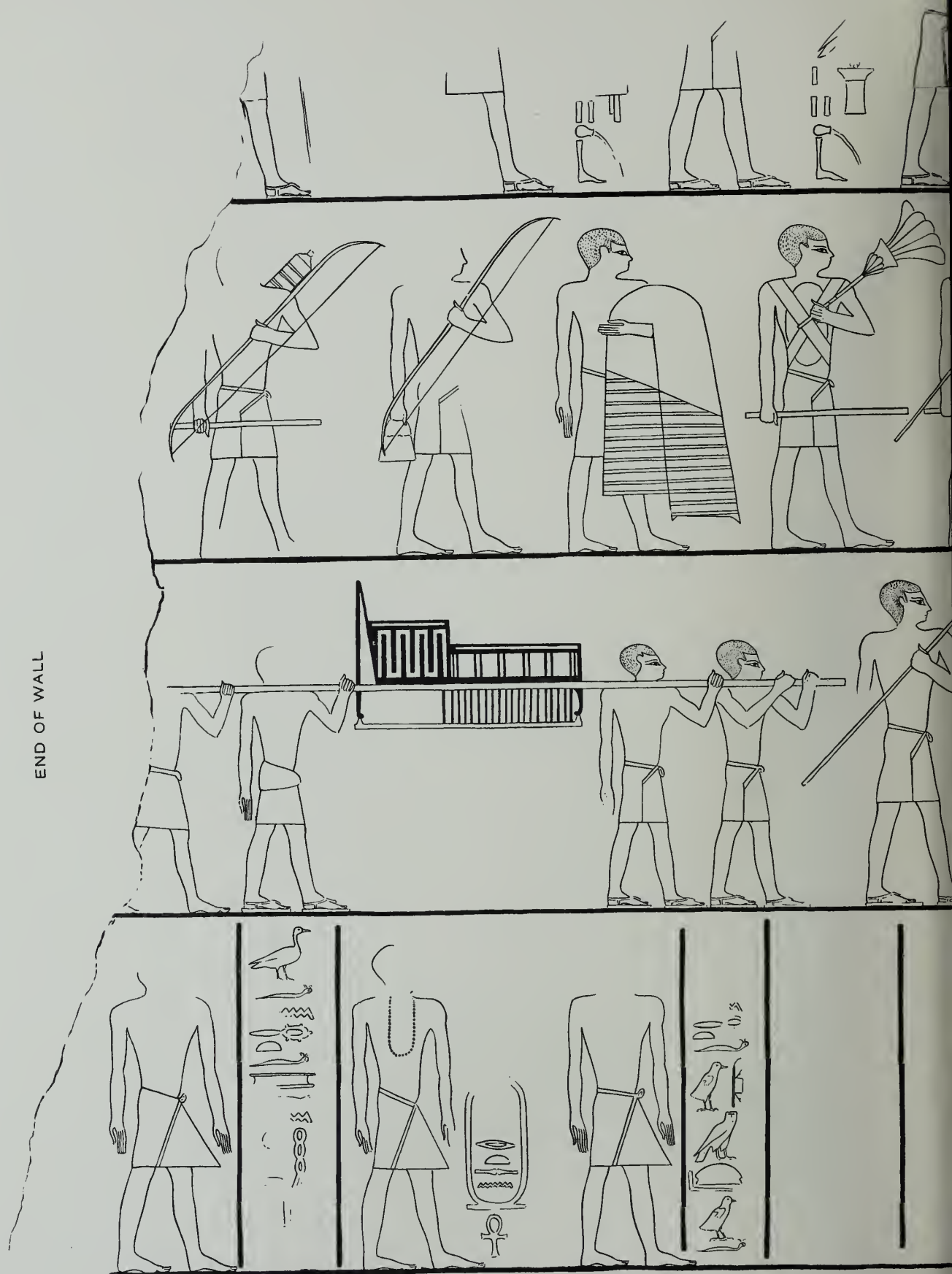


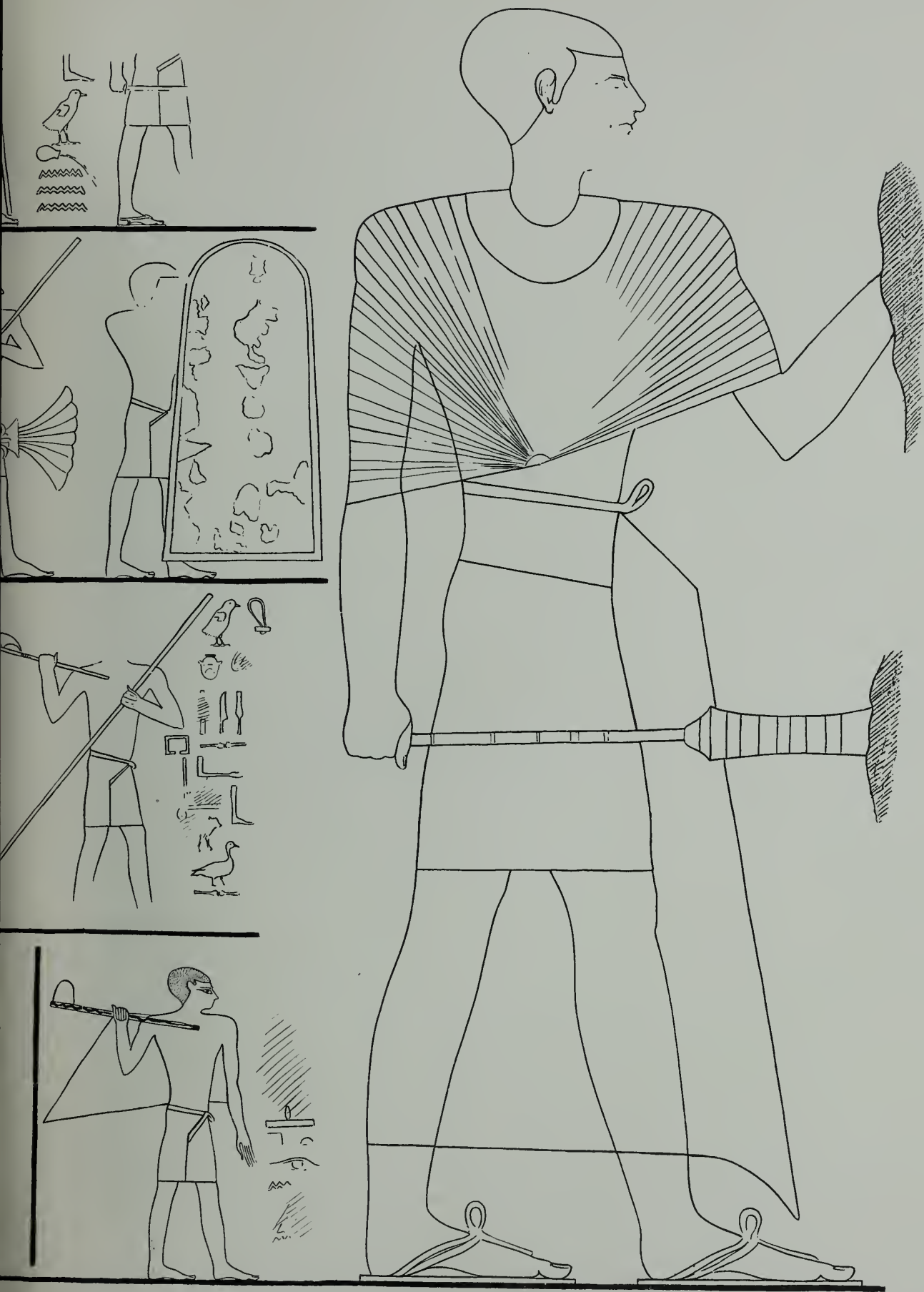
INNER C
RIGHT HAND V

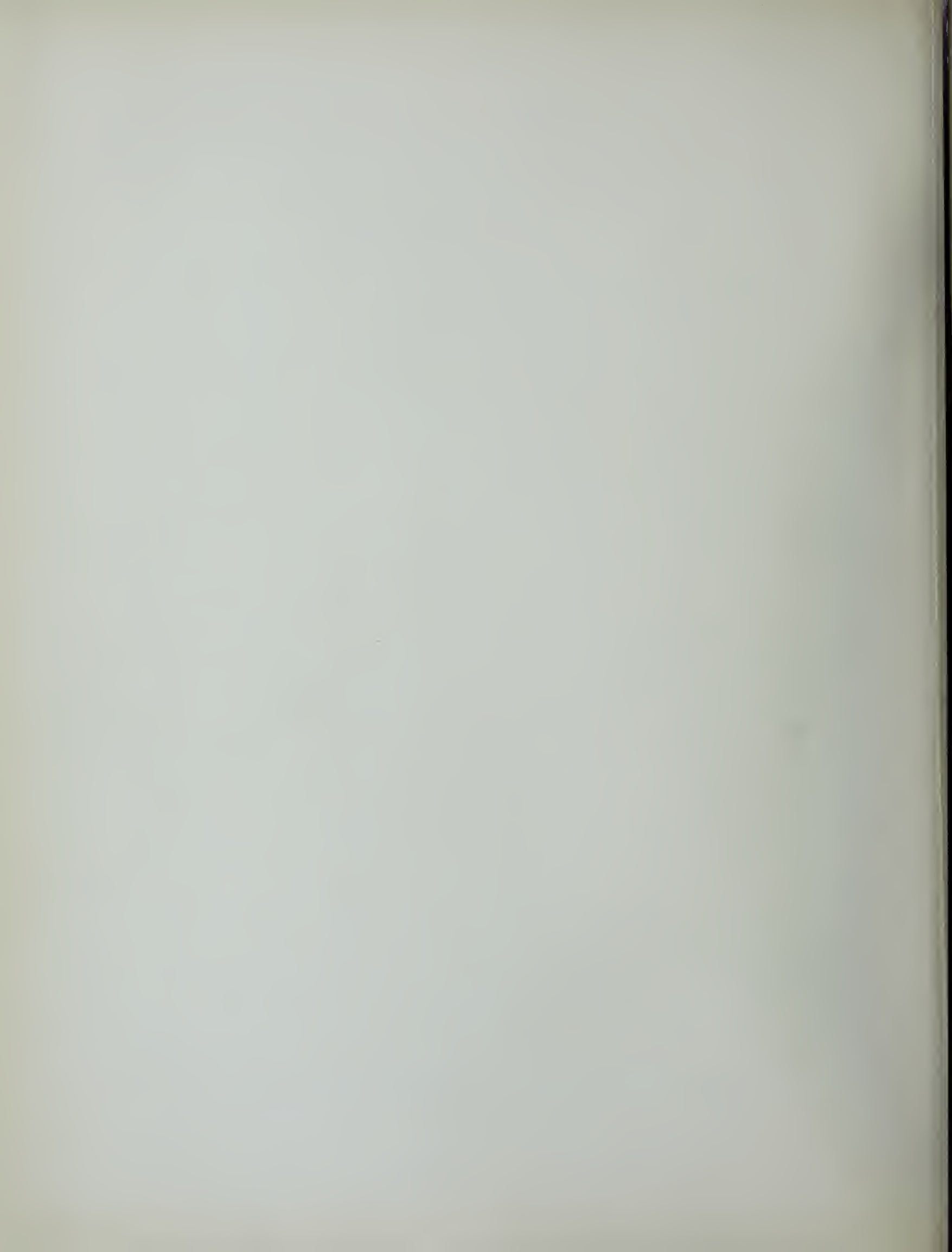


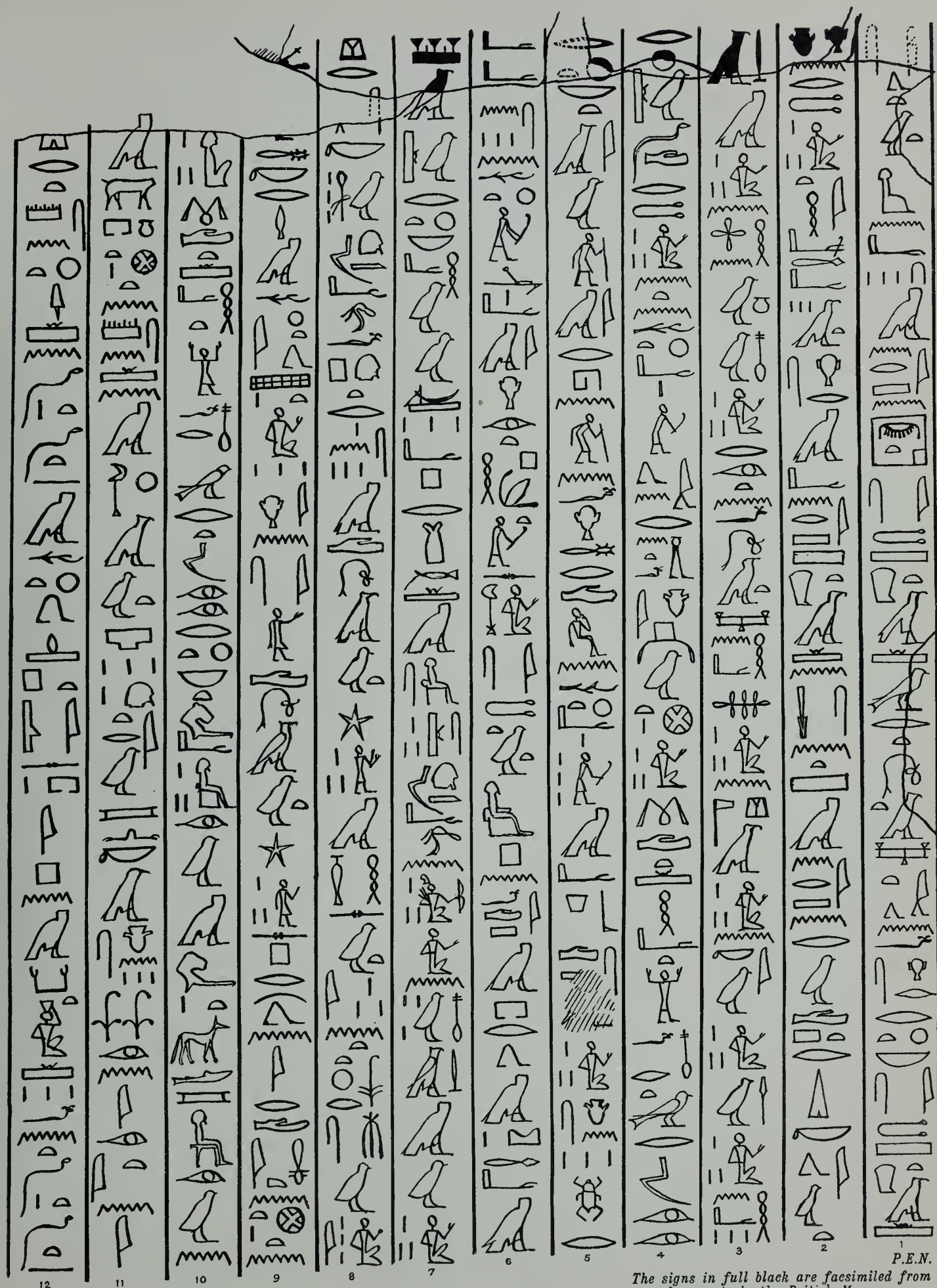
BER.
(ENTIRE).







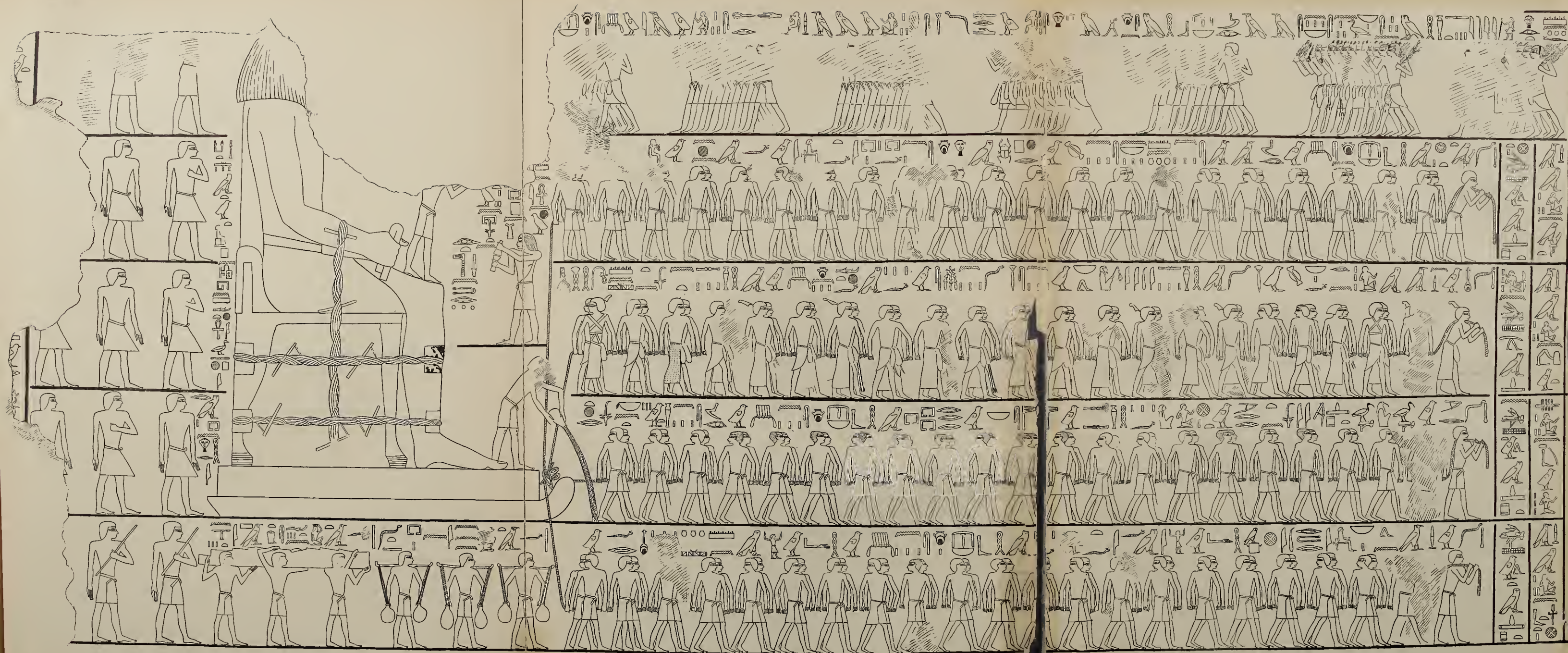




Scale 1:5.

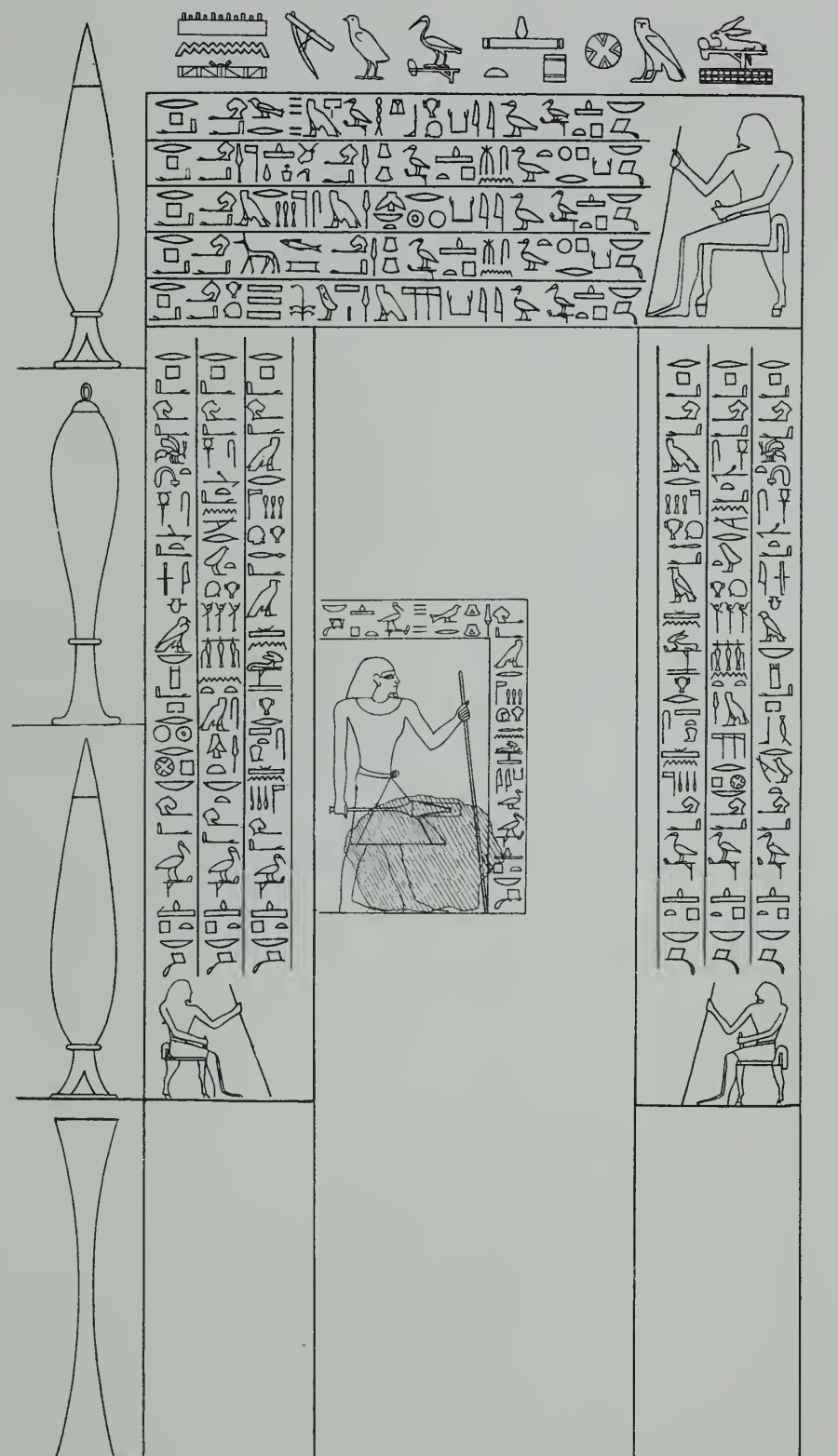
INNER CHAMBER.
LEFT HAND WALL (B).



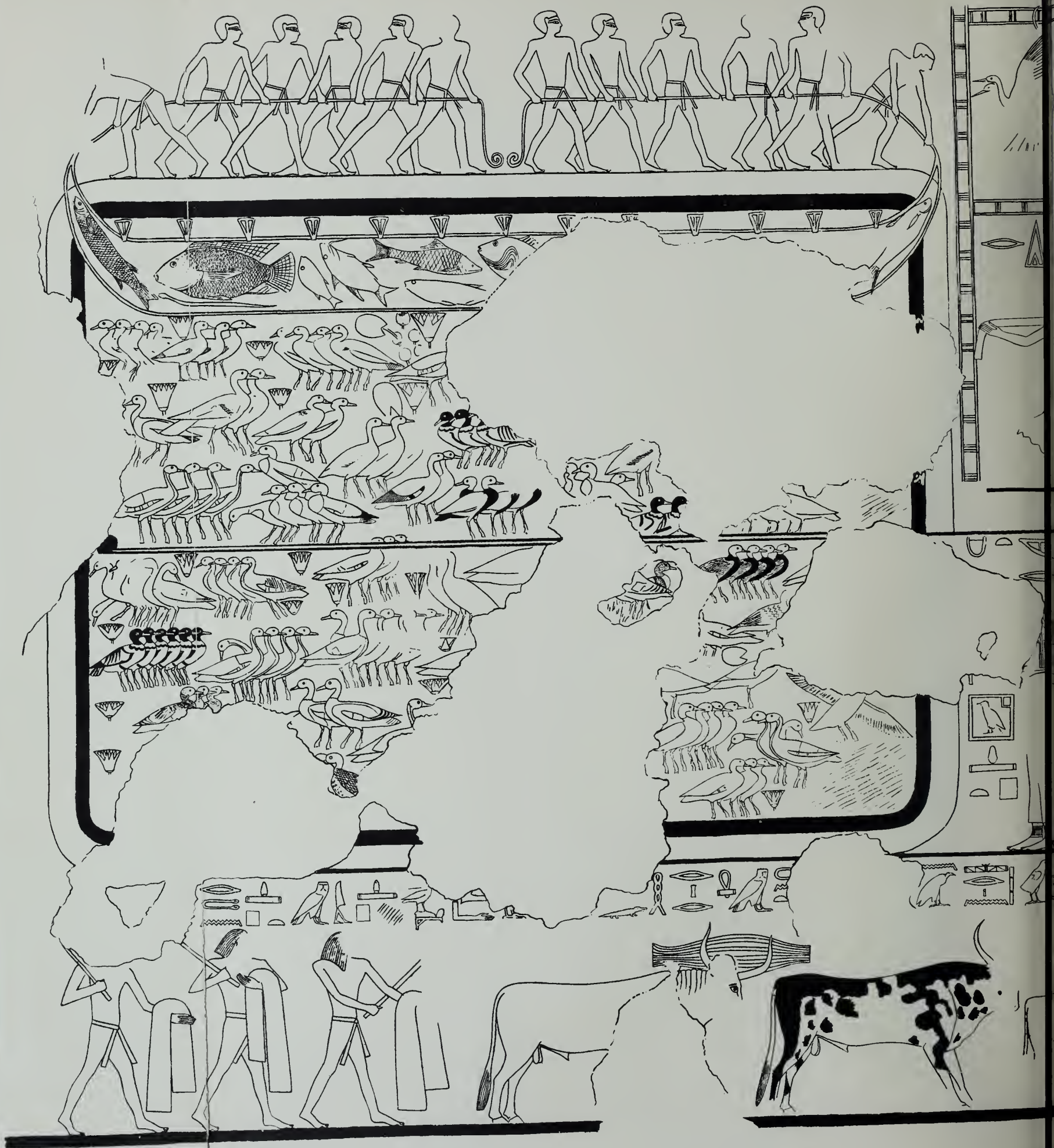


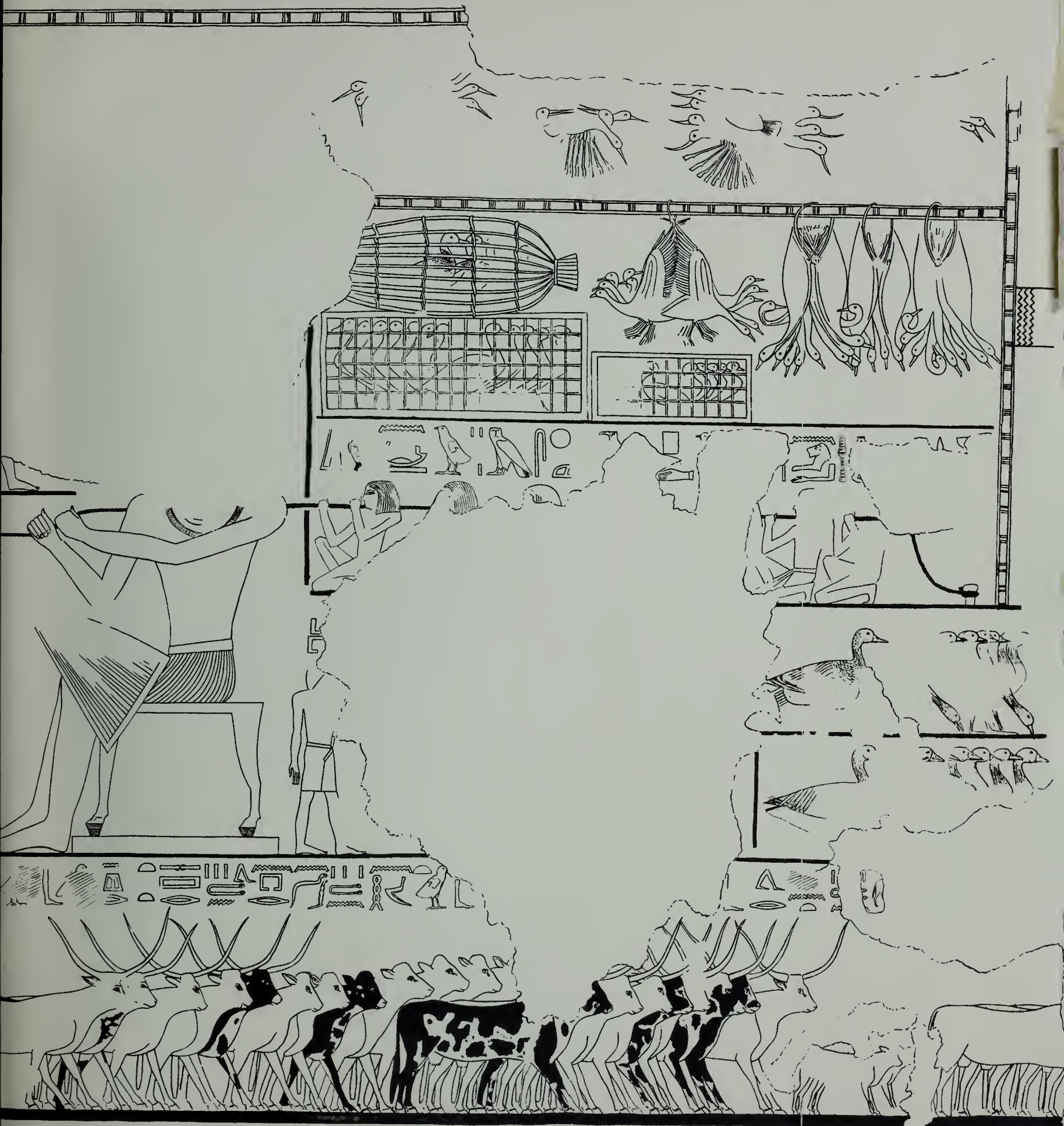
Scale 1: 5.

INNER CHAMBER.
LEFT HAND WALL (C).



INNER CHAMBER.
GATEWAY TO THE TEMPLE.

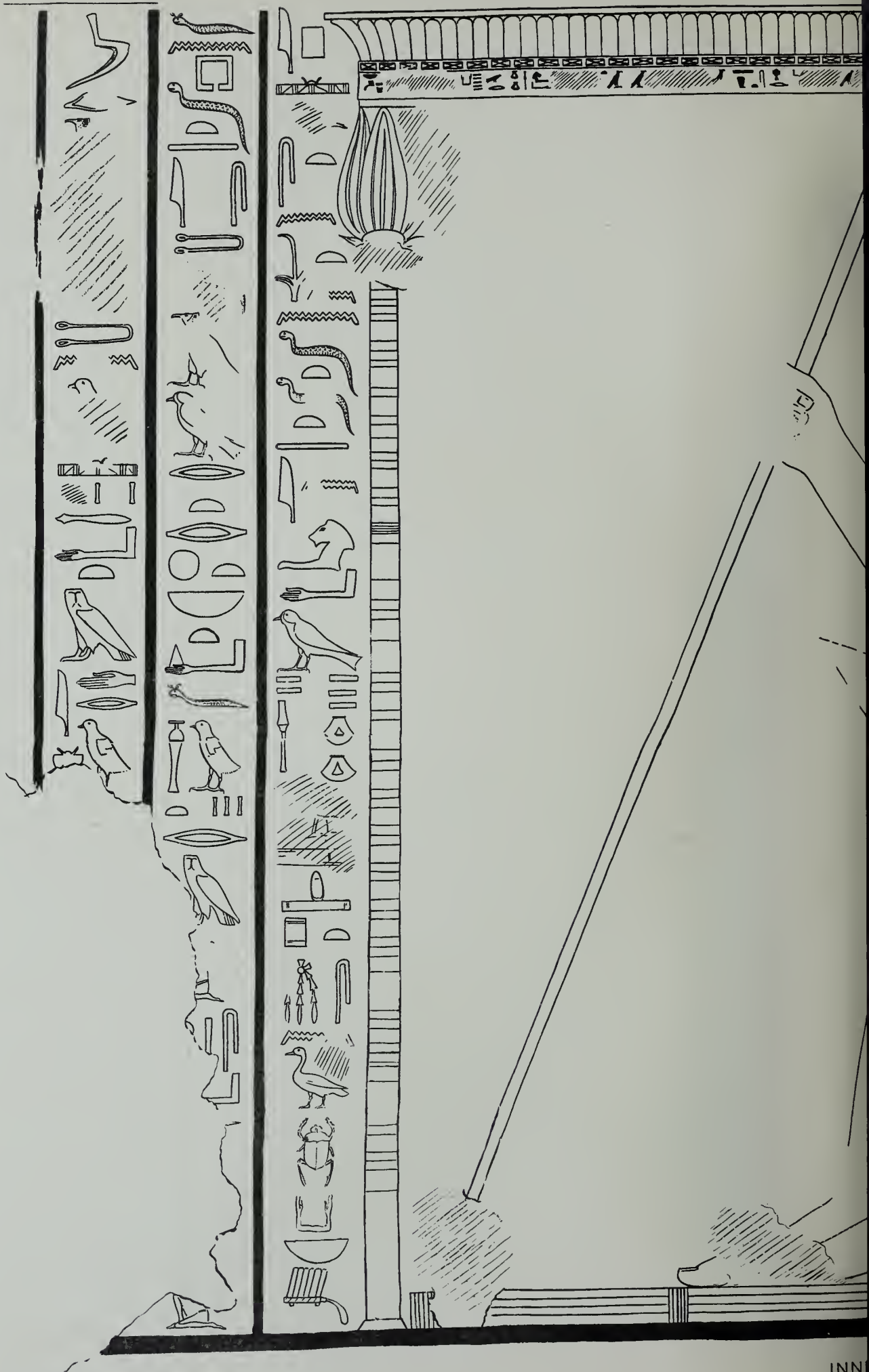


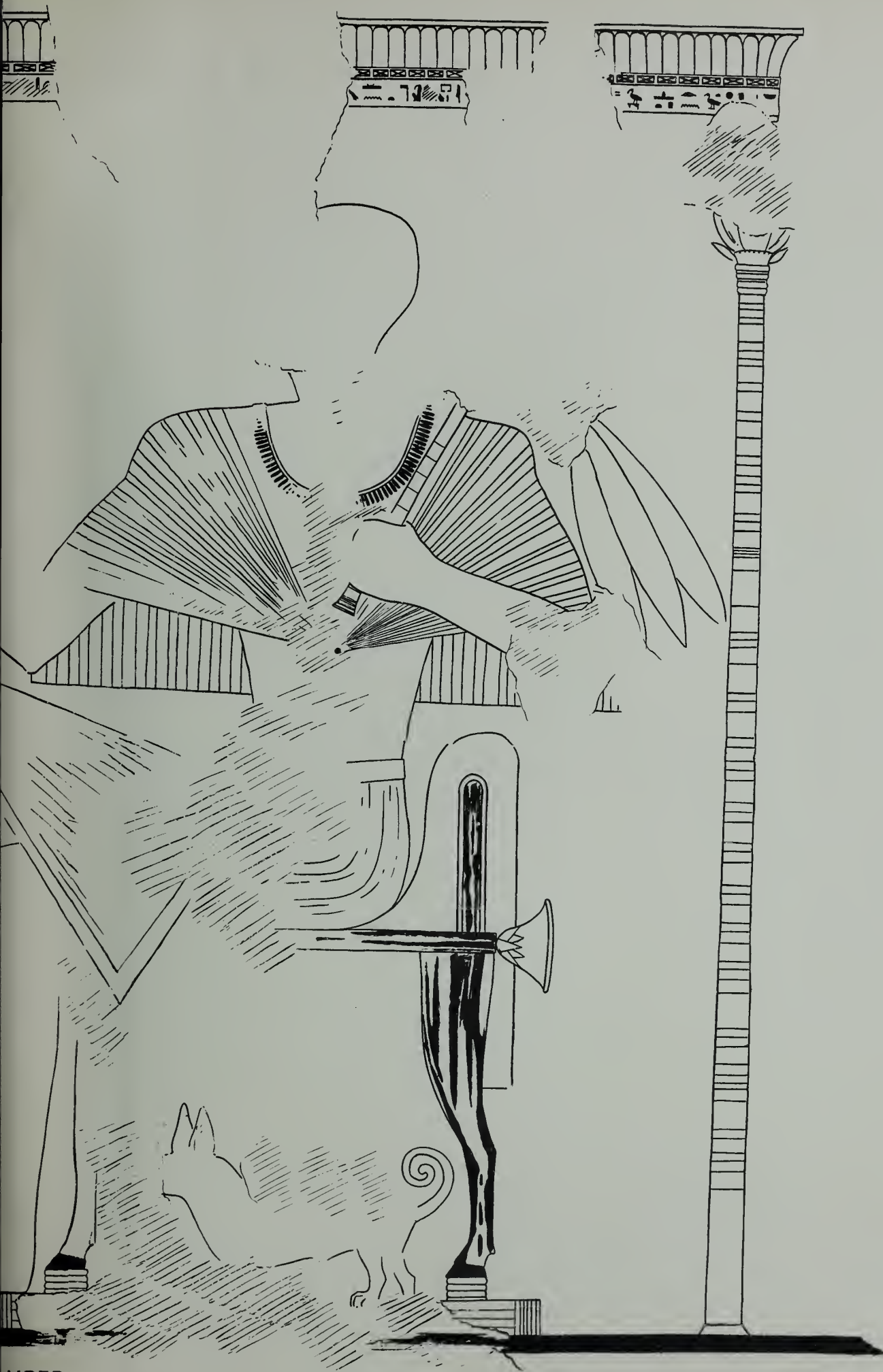


HAMBER.
D WALL (E).

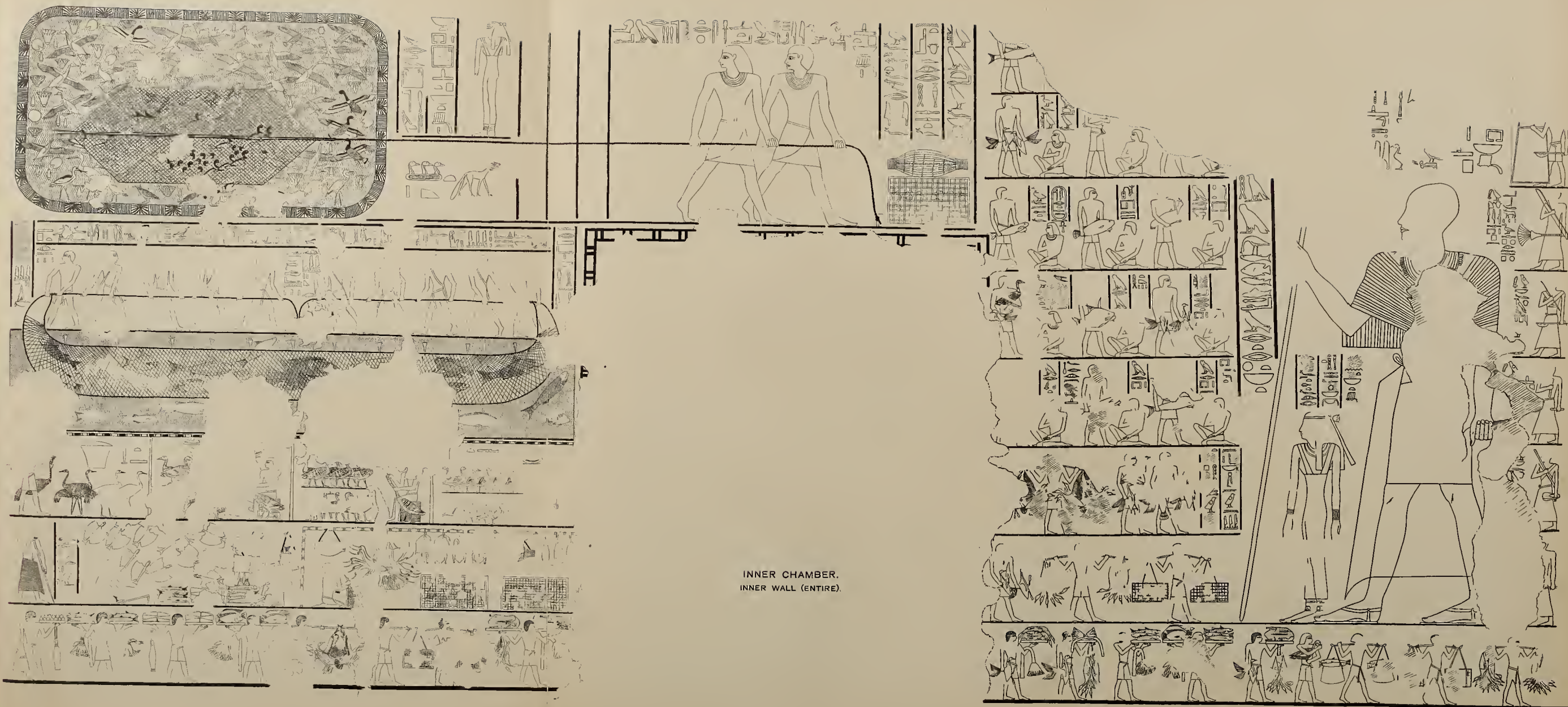


INNER CHAMBER.
LEFT HAND WALL (F).

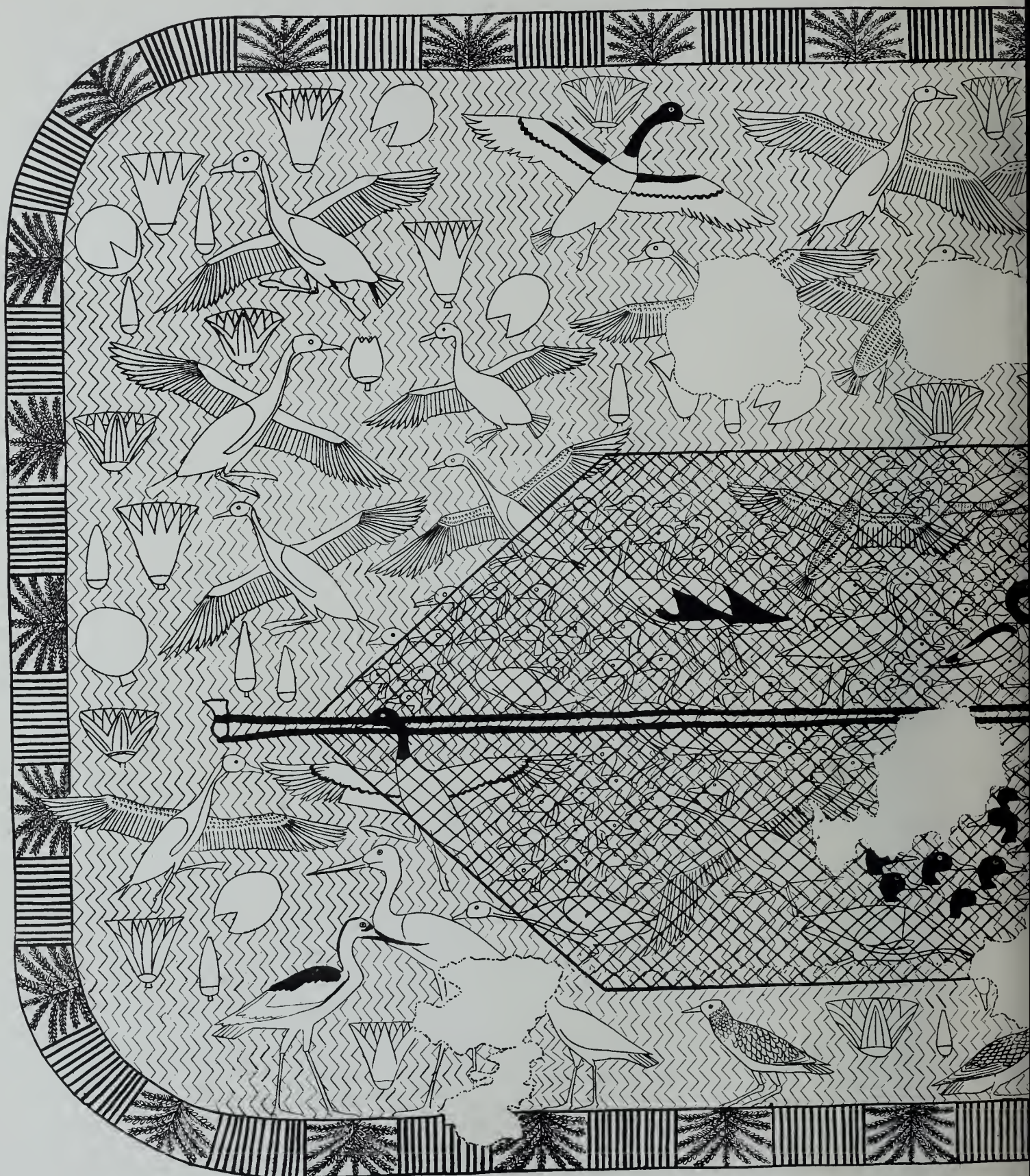


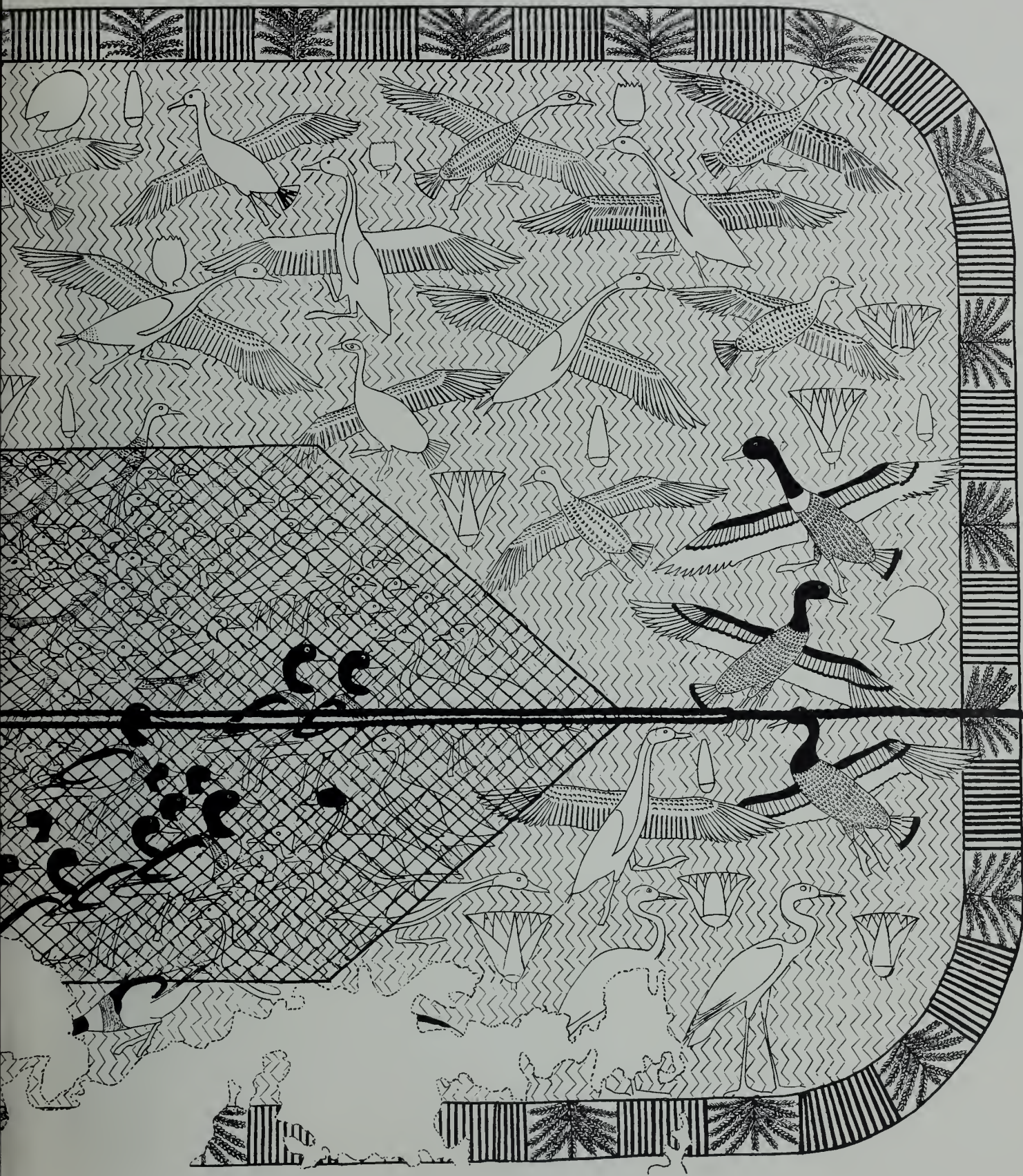






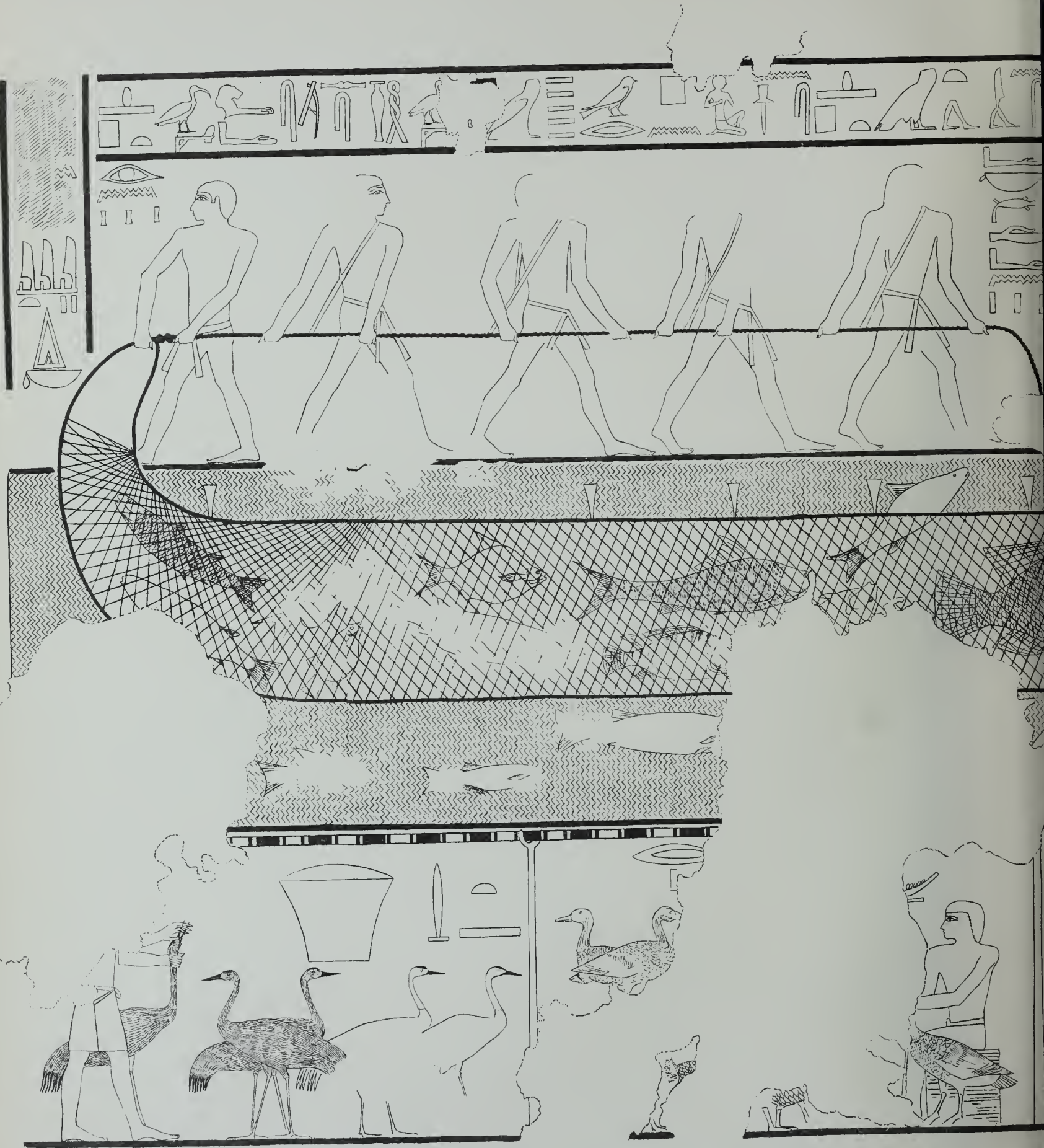






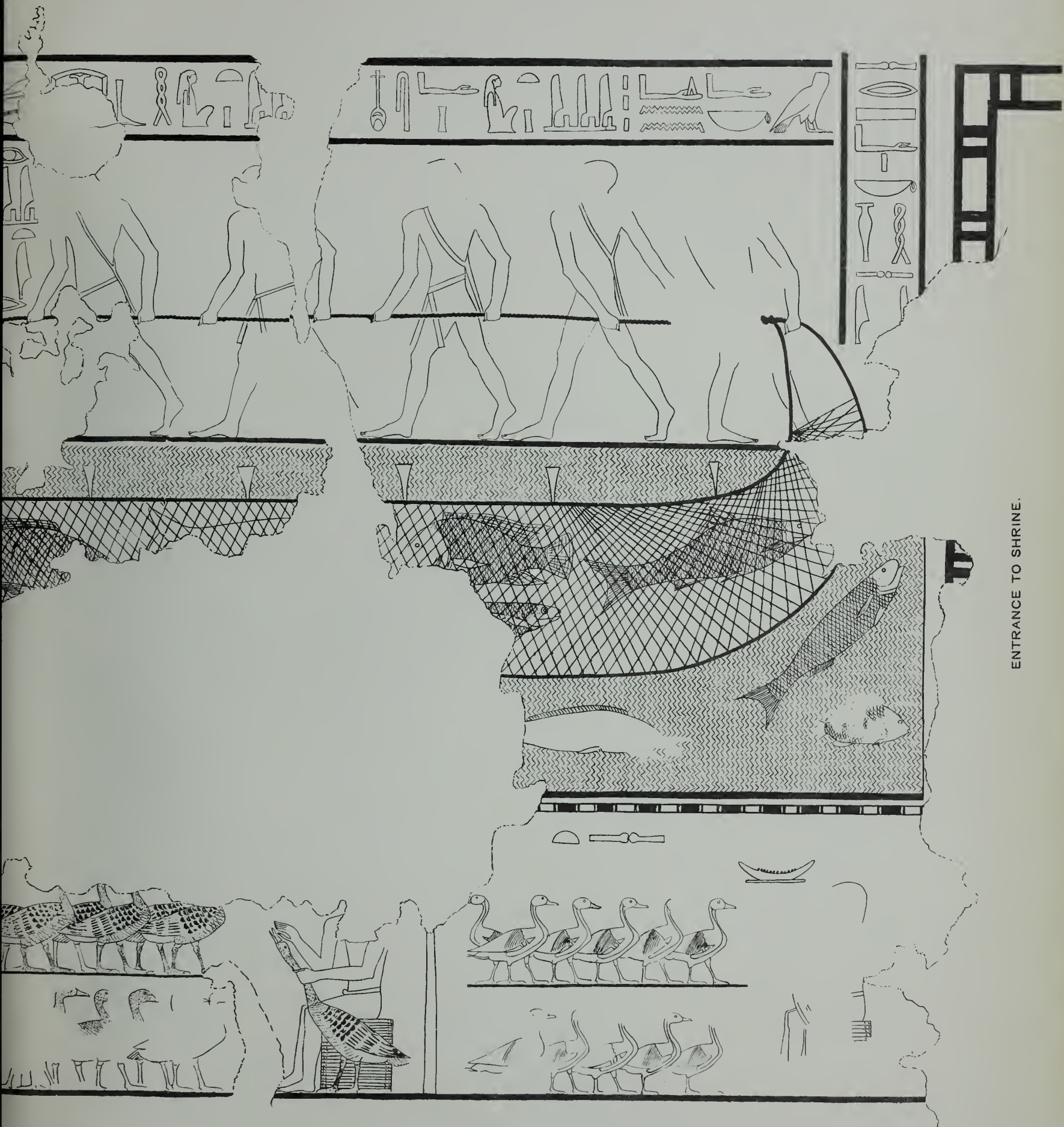
WILD FOWL.





Scale 1:5.

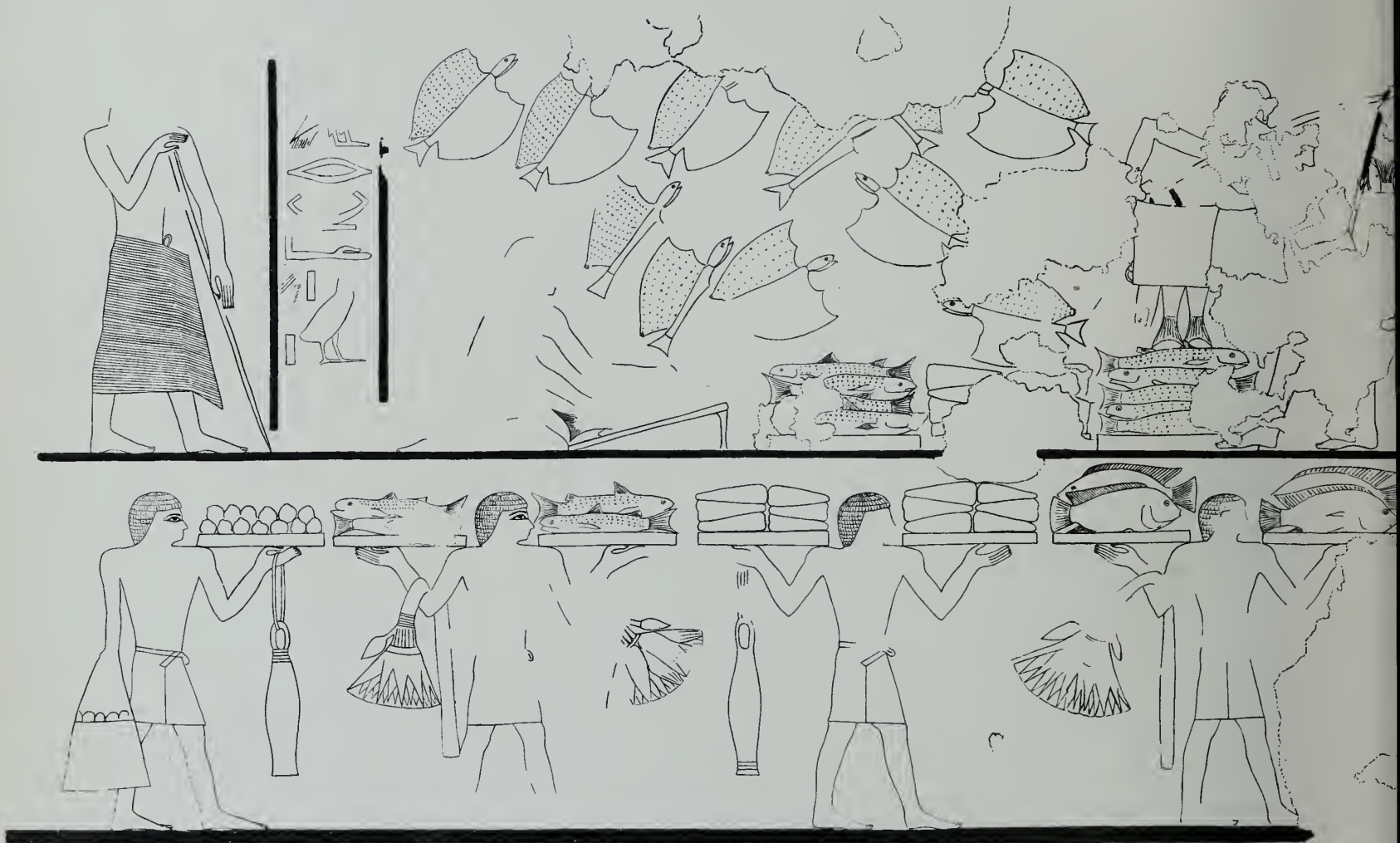
IN
WEST END OF



ENTRANCE TO SHRINE.

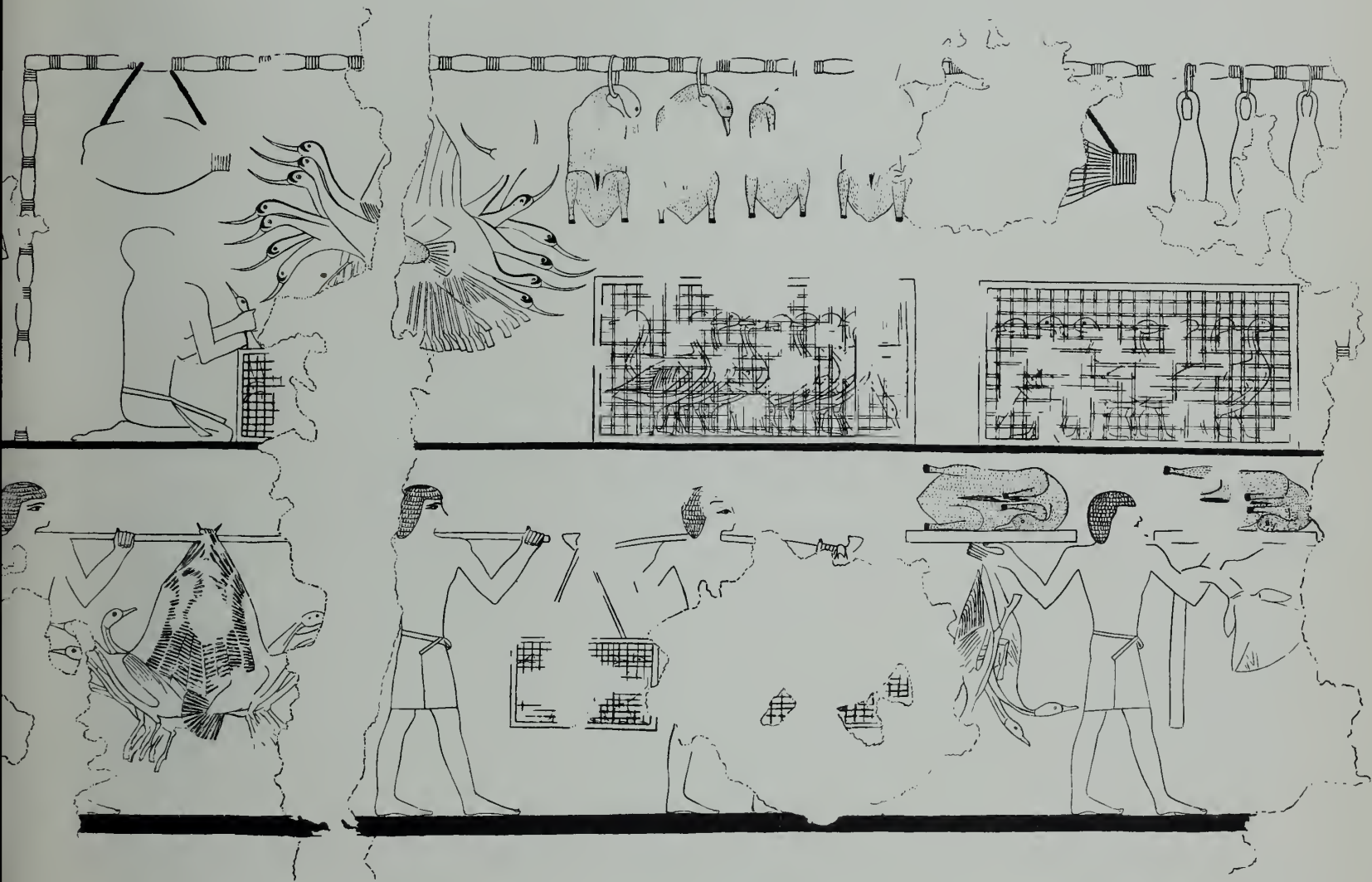
HAMBER.
WALL: ROWS 2 AND 3.





Scale 1:5.

INNER
WEST END OF INN



ENTRANCE TO SHRINE.

CHAMBER.
WALL: ROWS 4 AND 5.





In place

Scale 1:20.

INNER
RIGHT HAND WALL, WITH CONJE
(see Pls. XXV—XXXI; the small



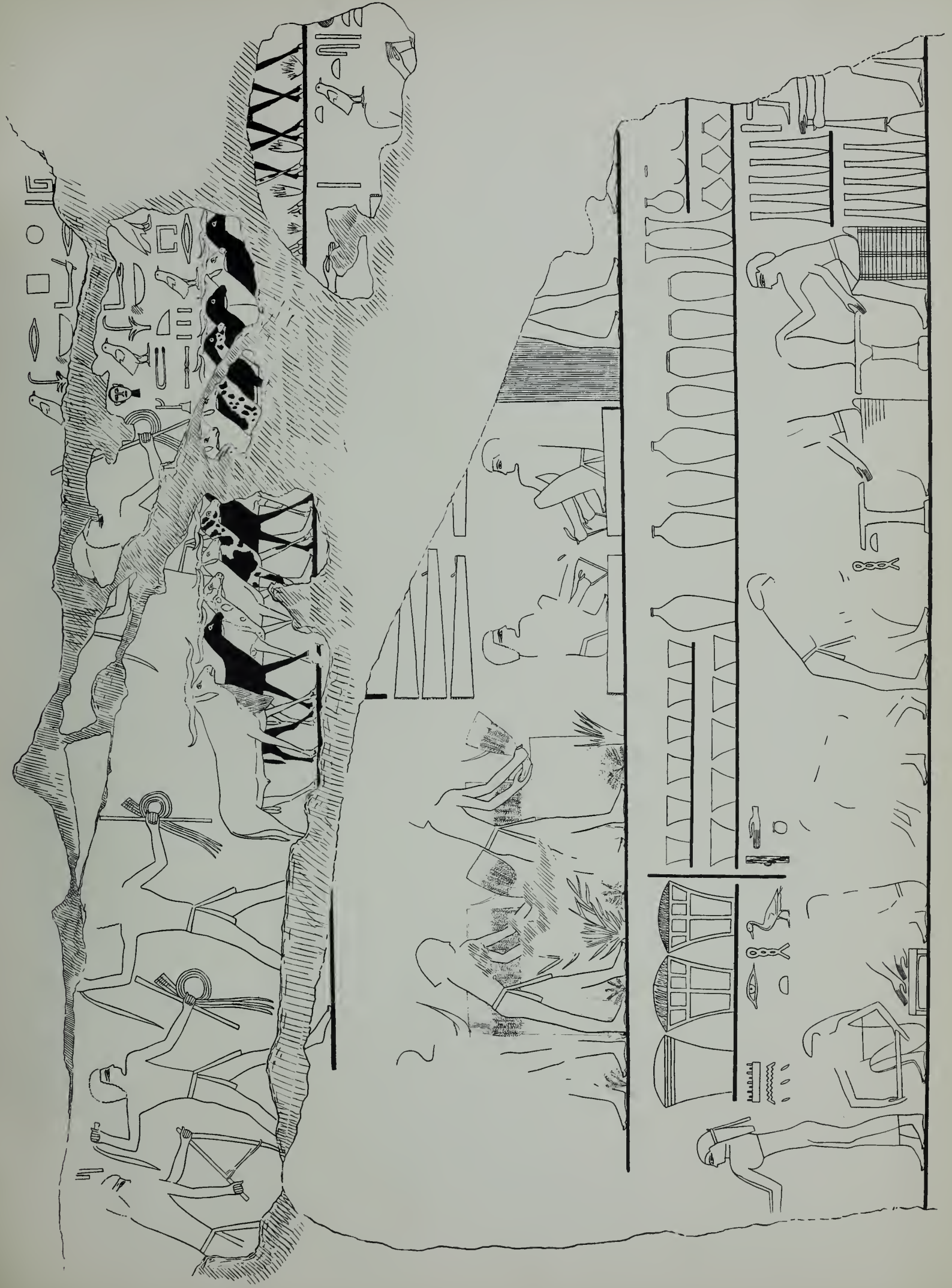
Large block in place

NUMBER.

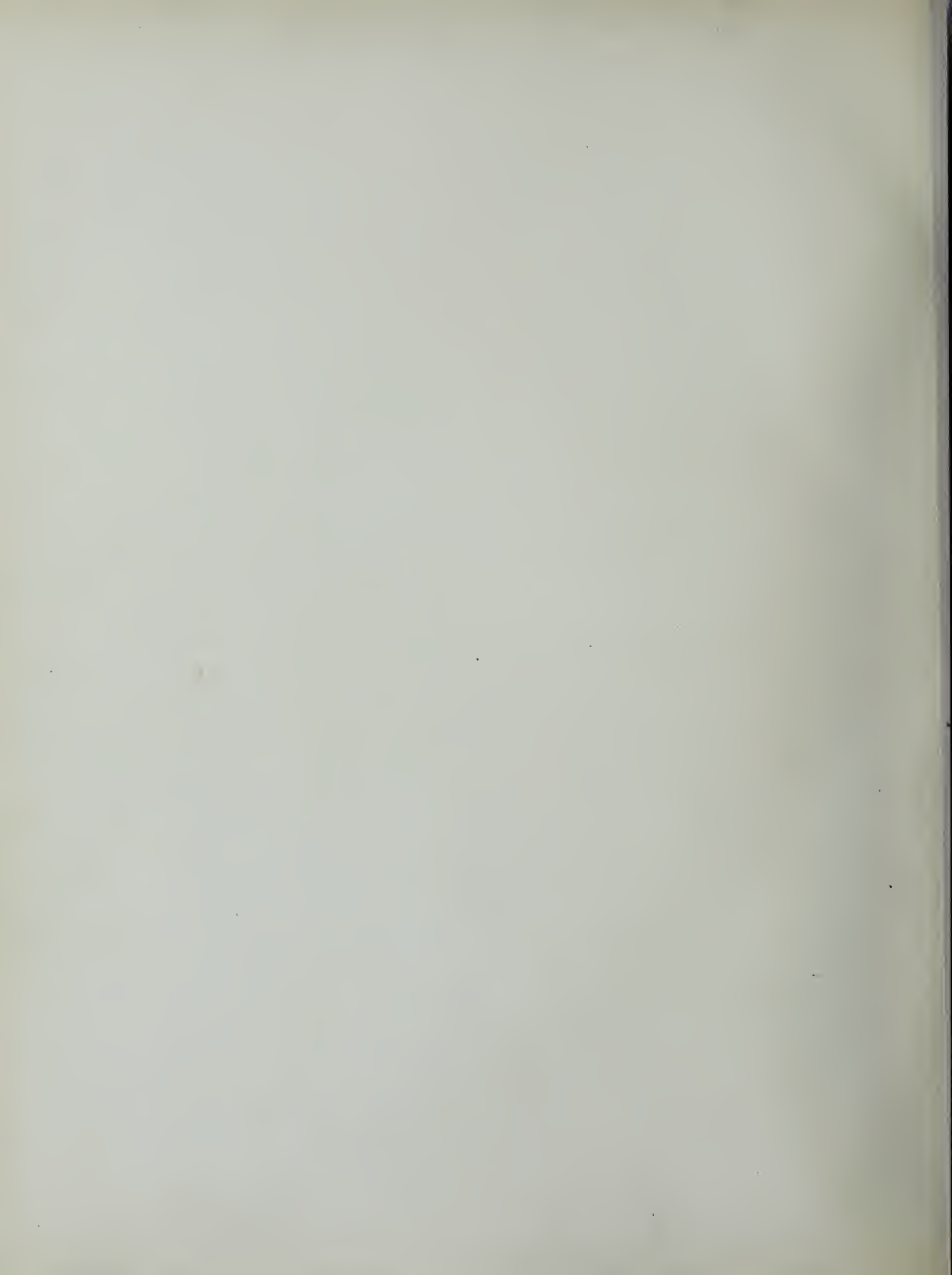
ARRANGEMENT OF FRAGMENTS.

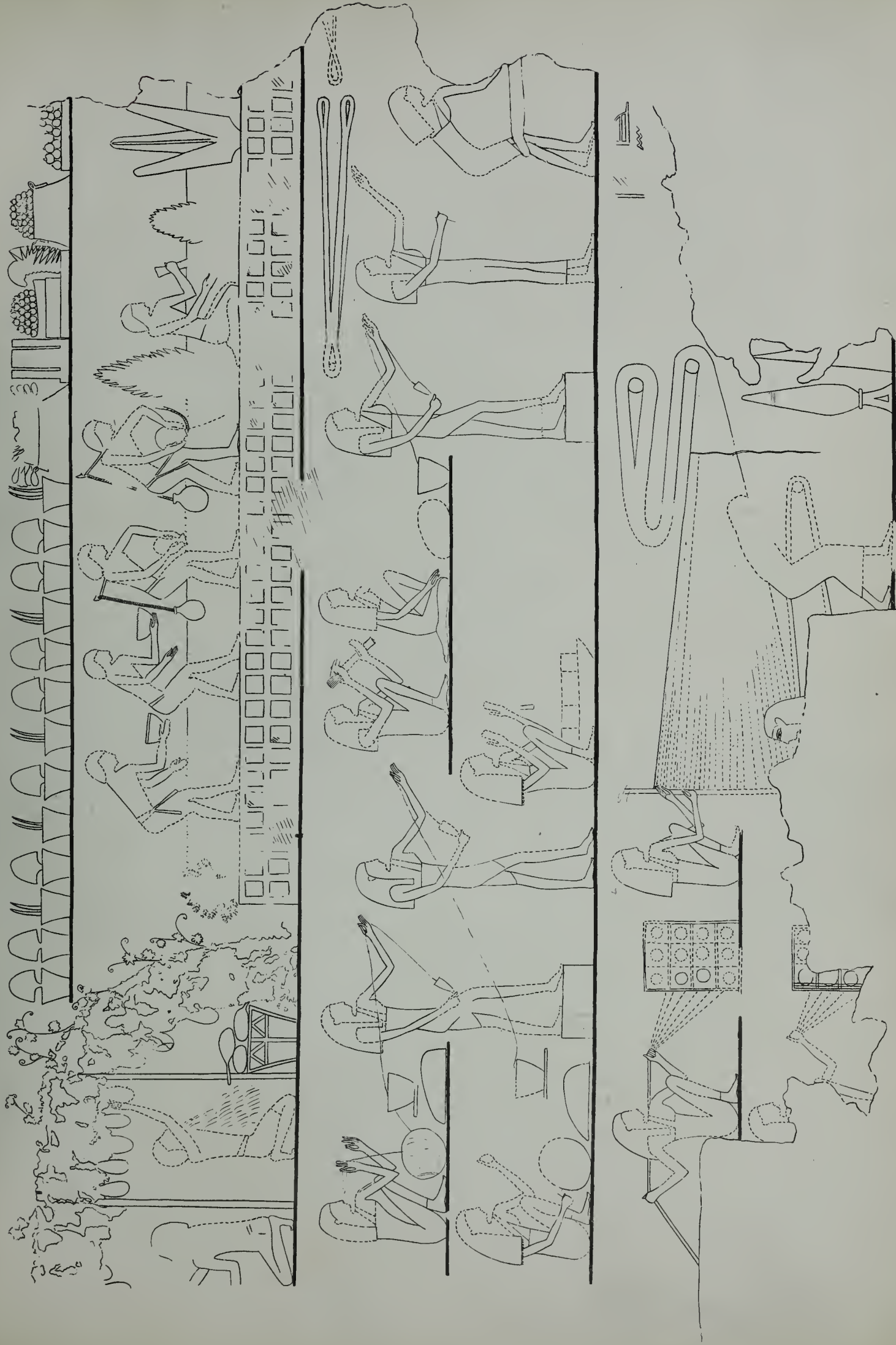
Pls. are all on Pls. XXVII and XXXI).





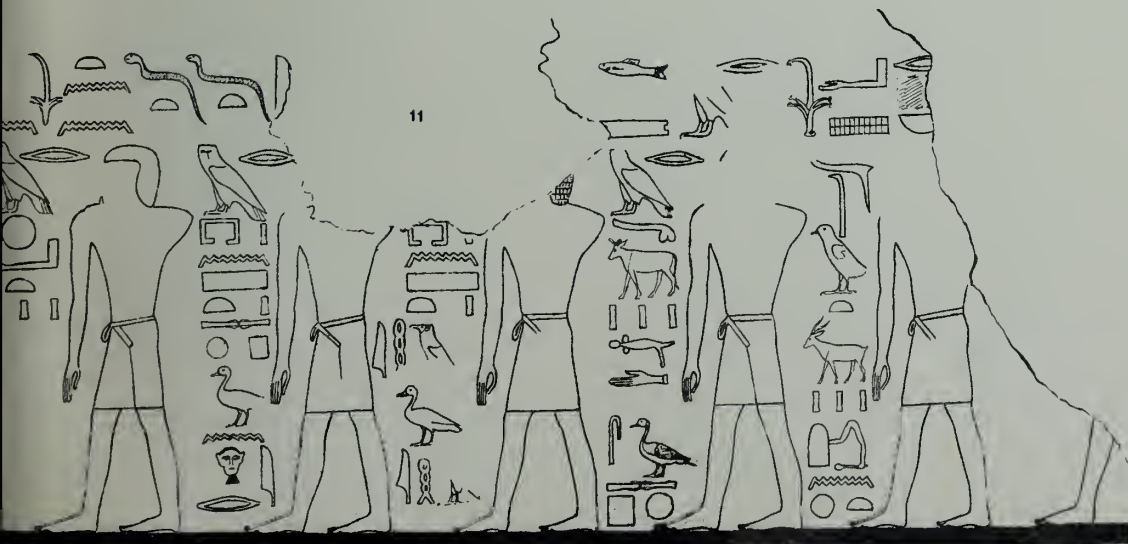
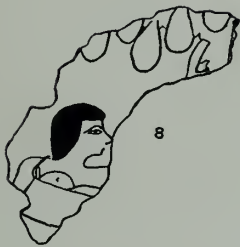
INNER CHAMBER.
RIGHT HAND WALL (A).



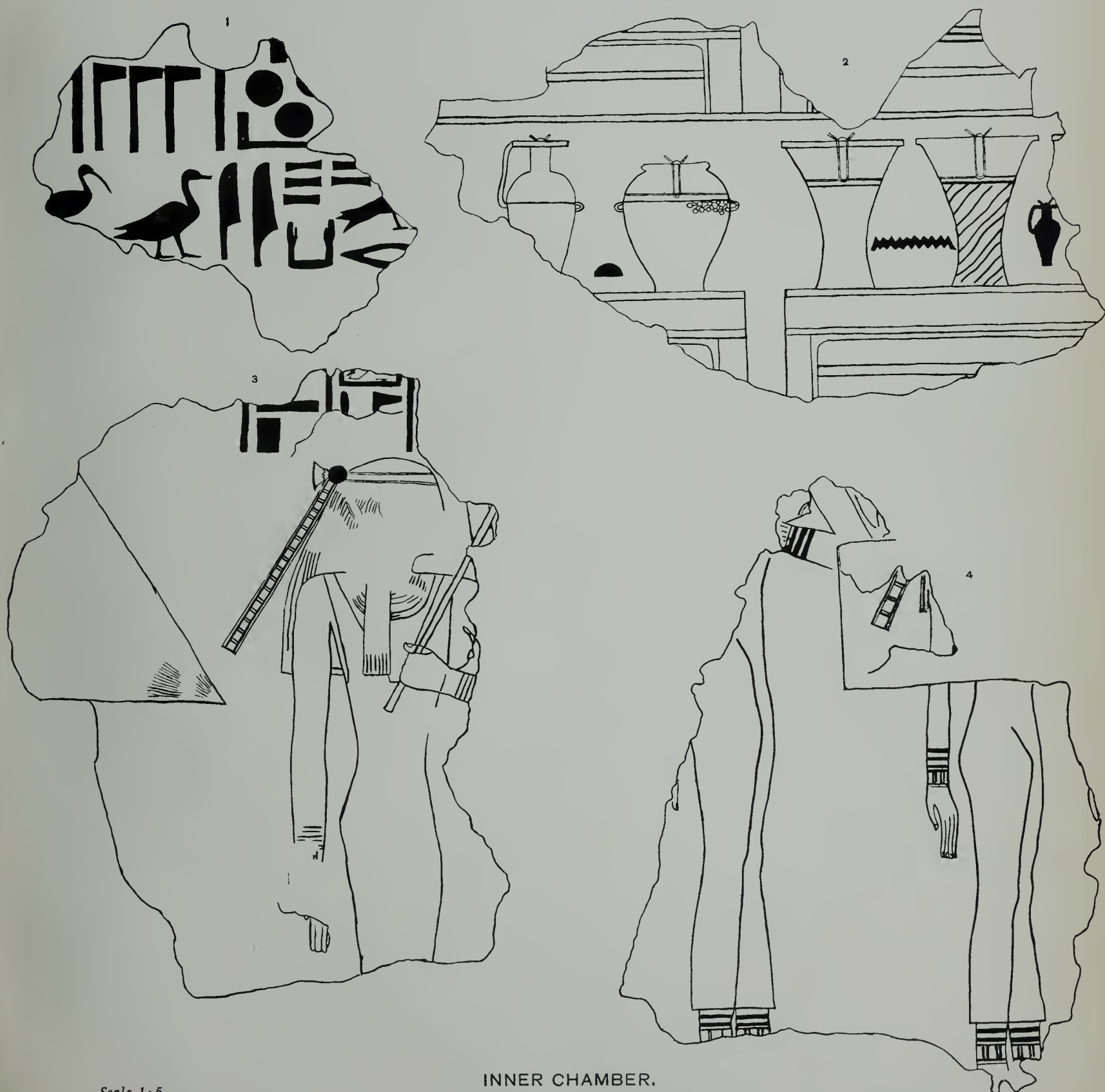










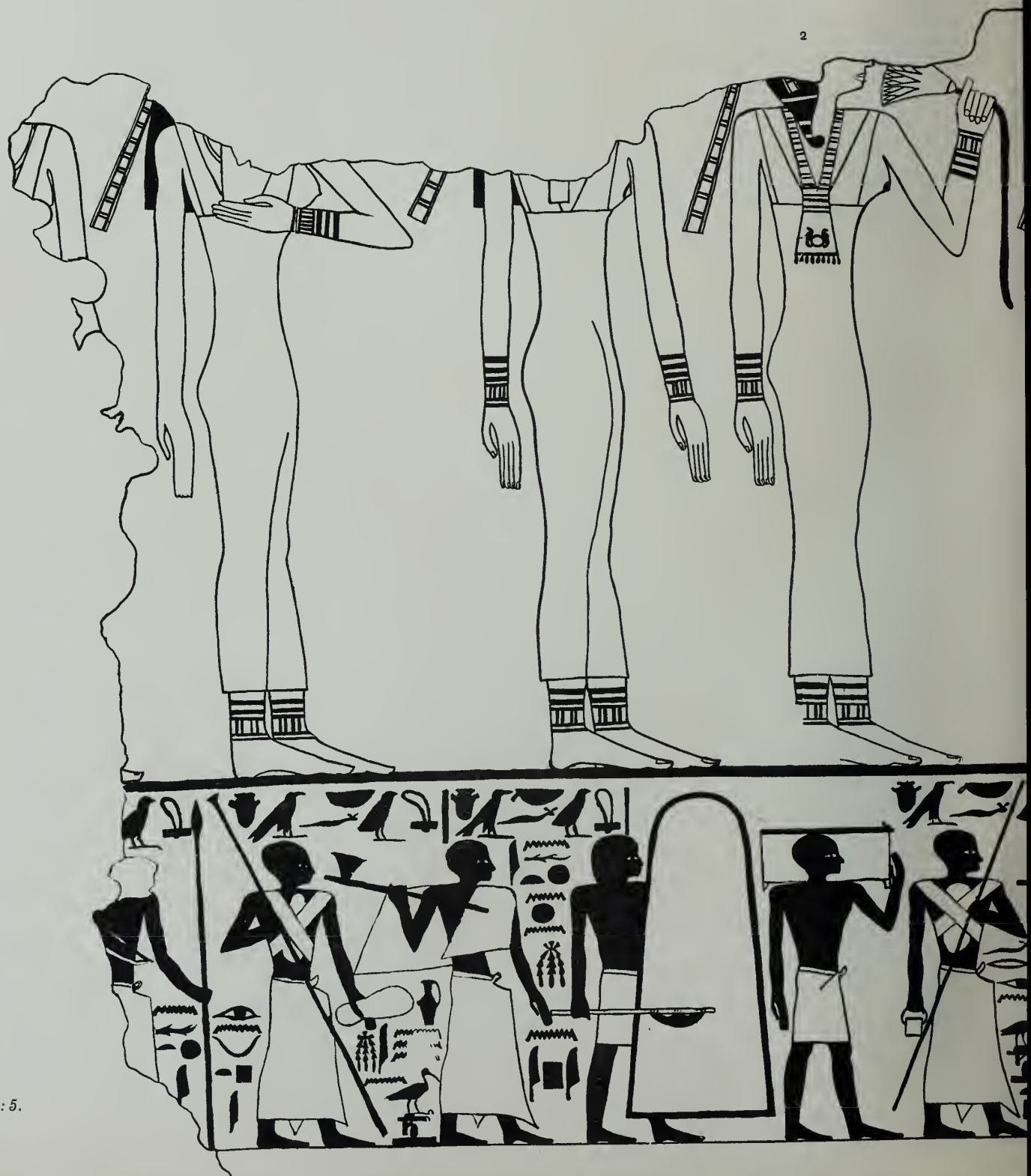


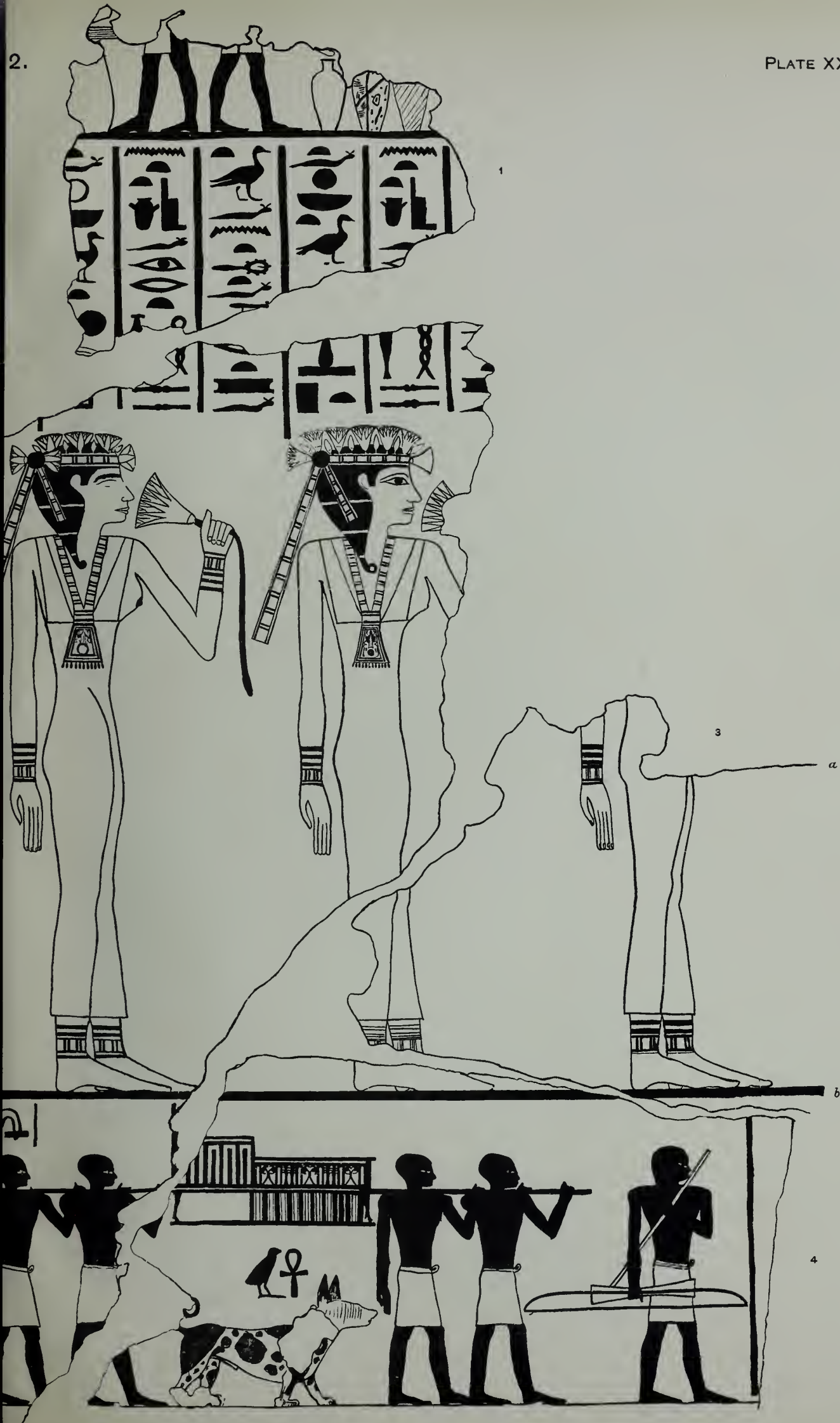
Scale 1:5.

INNER CHAMBER.
RIGHT HAND WALL. (FRAGMENTS).



INNER CHAMBER.
RIGHT HAND WALL. (FRAGMENTS).









Scale 1:5.

INNER CHAMBER.
RIGHT HAND WALL. (FRAGMENTS).

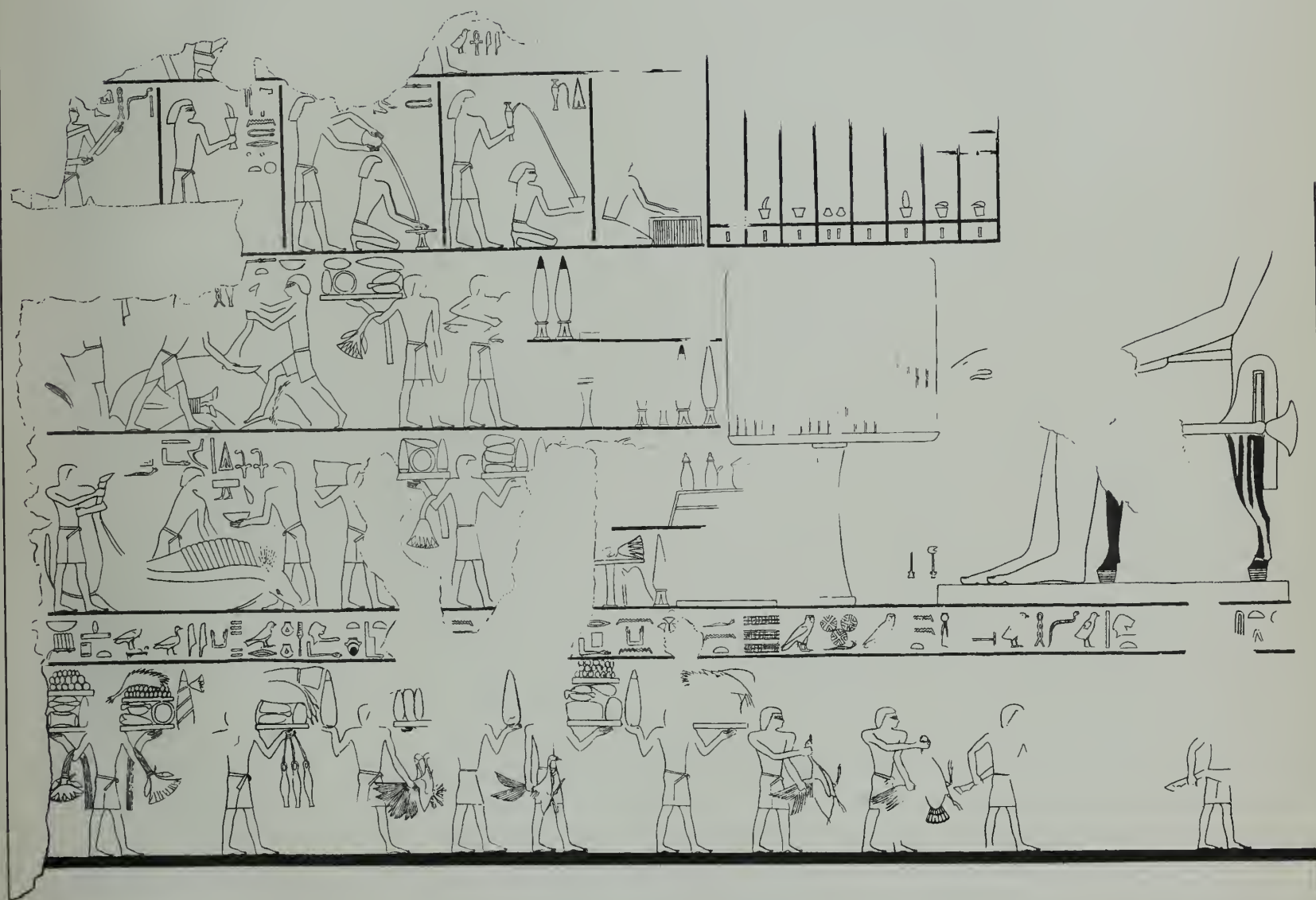




Scale 1:5.

INNER CHAMBER.
RIGHT HAND WALL. (FRAGMENTS).

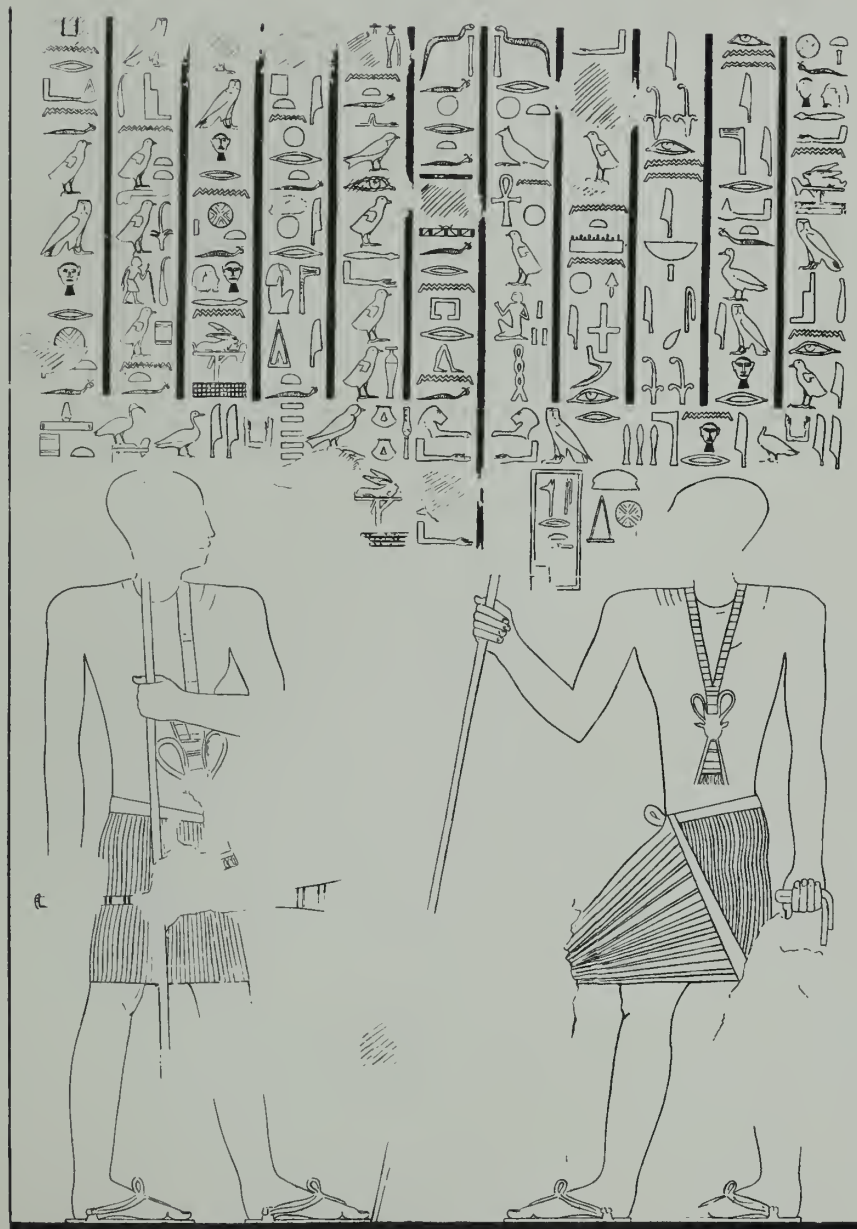




Scale 1 : 5.

SHRINE.
LEFT HAND WALL.





Scale 1 : 10.

SHRINE.
INNER WALL.





Scale 1 : 10.

SHRINE.
RIGHT HAND WALL.





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